THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.

AN

ABRIDGMENT

Serfojee Rajah 1831

OF

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HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

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THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.

CONTENTS.

VOL. I.

1398

BOOK I.

Of the beginnings of the Reformation, and of the Progress made in it by King Henry the Eighth.

A. D.		PAGE
1509	The union of the Houses of York and Lancaster, in King Henry VIII.	1
	Empson and Dudley disgraced	2
	He is very liberal	ibid.
	Is successful in his wars	ibid.
	He is courted both by France and Spain	3
	Francis I. is taken prisoner	4
	And afterwards the Pope	5
	Scotland in disorder	ibid.
	Factions in the English Council	6
	Cardinal Wolsey's rise	ibid.
	And greatness	ibid.
	Charles Brandon's advancement	7
	The King is well with his Parliament	8
	The King's education	ibid.
	His learning and vanity	9
	The way of promoting Bishops	ibid.
	A contest for the ecclesiastical immunity	10
	Hun imprisoned, murdered, and his body burnt	11, 12
	Further disputes about immunity	12
	The King much addicted to the Papacy	14
	Cardinal Wolsey intends to reform the Clergy	15
	The summoning of convocations	ibid.
	The state of the monasteries	16
	Wolsey suppresses many	ibid.
	The progress of Wickliffe's doctrine	ibid.
	The cruelty of the Clergy	17
	Laws made against heretics	18
	Warham persecutes the Lollards	19
	The progress of Luther's doctrine	20
	The King writes against him	22
	The King's marriage	23
	Matches proposed for his daughter	24
	The King has scruples about his marriage	ibid.
1527	And applies to the Pope for a divorce	26
	Who is very favourable	27
1528	Campegio sent as Legate to try it	29

A. D.		PAGE
	He comes into England with a decretal bull	30
	Campana sent over to deceive the King	31
	The Pope resolved to join with the Emperor	ibid.
1529	The Pope's sickness	22
	Wolsey aspires to the Popedom	ibid.
	The Pope promises to confirm the sentence that should be given by the Legates	33
	The process begins in England	35
	The Queen appeals to the Pope	36
	The Pope grants an avocation	37
	Cranmer's rise	38
	Wolsey's disgrace	ibid.
1530	His death	39
	A Parliament is called	40
	The King's debts are discharged	ibid.
	Universities declare against the marriage	41
	It is condemned by the Sorbonne	42
	The opinions of the Reformers about it	43
	The English nobility write to the Pope about it, and he answers them	43, 44
	Arguments for the divorce	44
	Arguments against it	47
1531	A session of Parliament	48
	The laws formerly made against the Pope's bulls	49
	The Clergy sued in a *præmunire*	53
	Poisoning made treason	54
	The King leaves the Queen	55
	A tumult among the Clergy	ibid.
	The Pope joins himself to France	56
1532	Differences between the King and the House of Commons	57
	An Act against Annats	57
	The Pope writes to the King	58
	The King answers	59
	The King cited to Rome	ibid.
	And Cardinals corrupted	ibid.
	A session of Parliament	61
	The Bishops' oaths to the Pope and the King	ibid.
	More lays down his office	62
	The Kings of England and France meet	ibid.
	The King marries Anne Boleyn	63
1533	The Parliamens condemns appeals to Rome	64
	Cranmer made Archbishop of Canterbury	ibid.
	The Convocation condemns the marriage	65
	Cranmer gives sentence, with the censures of it	66, 67
	The proceedings at Rome upon it	69
	Queen Elizabeth born	ibid.
	The Pope promises to satisfy the King	70
	But proceeds hastily to a sentence	71
	Arguments for rejecting the Poper's power	72
	And for the King's supremacy	75
	The Clergy submit to it	76
	A session of Parliament	ibid.
1534	The Pope's power condemned in Parliament	77
	The Act of the succession	ibid.
	An Act concerning heretics	78
	The submission of the Convocation	79
	An Act for election of Bishops	ibid.
	The attainder of the Nun of Kent	80
	All swear the oath of succession	83
	Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, is in trouble	84
	But is very obstinate	85

A. D.		PAGE
	More and Fisher refuse the oath	85
	Another Session of Parliament establishes the King's supremacy	86
	The progress of the Reformation in England	88
	The supplication of the beggars	89
	Frith writes against purgatory	90
	A persecution set on by More	ibid.
	Bilney's martyrdom	91
	Frith's sufferings	93
	A stop put to further cruelties	95
	The interest the Reformers had at Court	ibid.
	Others oppose them much	96
	The opinion of some Bishops of a General Council	97
	Heads of a speech of Cranmer's	ibid.
	The state of England at that time	99
1535	A general visitation proposed	101
	Instructions and injunctions for it	ibid.
	The state of the monasteries in England	102
	Some houses surrendered to the King	105
1536	Queen Catherine's death	106
	The lesser monasteries suppressed	107
	A translation of the Bible designed	ibid.
	Queen Anne Boleyn's fall	109
	Her trial	112
	And execution	113
	Censures passed upon it	115
	Lady Mary's submission to the King	116
	The Act of the succession	117
	The Pope desires a reconciliation with the King	118
	Acts against the Pope's power	118
	The Convocation examines some points of religion	119
	Articles of religion agreed on	120
	Which are variously censured	122
	Other alterations proposed	123
	The King protests against all councils called by the Pope	124
	Cardinal Pole writes against him	125
	The lesser monasteries seized on	127
	Which gave a general discontent	ibid.
	Injunctions given by the King	129
	A rebellion in Lincolnshire	130
	Another in Yorkshire	131
	They are every where quieted	134
	The greater monasteries surrendered	135
	Some Abbots attainted	137
	The impostures of some images discovered	140
	Becket's shrine broken	141
	The Pope thunders against the King	142
	The English Bishops assert the King's supremacy, and explain the nature of the power of the Church	144
	The Bible set out in English, and new injunctions	145
	Prince Edward born	146
	Lambert is condemned and burnt for denying the corporal Presence	147
	Treaties with the German Princes	149
1539	The Act of the six Articles	151

A. D.		PAGE.
	The Duke of Norfolk proposeth the six Articles	151
	Censures passed upon it	153
	An Act for the suppressing the monasteries	154
	An Act for new bishoprics	155
	An Act for proclamations	157
	The statute of the precedence of the Bishops	ibid.
	Some attainted without being heard	158
	The King's kindness to Cranmer	158
	Bishops hold their sees at the King's pleasure	160
	All the monasteries suppressed	ibid.
	The yearly rents of the abbey-lands	161
	A treaty for a match with Anne of Cleves	163
	The King marries her, but never likes her	164
	A new Parliament	ibid.
	The Knights of St. John suppressed	165
	Cromwell's fall	166
	His attainder	168
	Censures passed upon it	169
	The King's marriage annulled	ibid.
	Cromwell's death	172
	A book of religion set out by the Bishops	173
	The explanation of faith	174
	And of the Sacraments	ibid.
	The book is published	177
	Barnes and others fall into trouble	178
	And burnt	180
	New sees founded	181
1541	The Bible set up in churches	183
	The affairs of Scotland	184
	A persecution set on foot in Scotland	187
	The Queen's ill life is discovered	189

A. D.		PAGE
1542	A design to suppress the Bible	191
	Bonner's injunctions	ibid.
	The way of preaching at that time	192
	A war with Scotland	193
1543	A Parliament called	195
	An Act about religion	ibid.
	Affairs in Scotland	197
	Some burnt at Windsor	198
	Cranmer's ruin is designed	200
1544	The Act of succession	201
	The King makes war on France and Scotland	202
	The King takes Boulogne	203
1545	Wishart burnt in Scotland	204
	Cardinal Beaton is murdered	206
	Chantries given to the King	207
1546	A peace with France	ibid.
	Anne Aiscough and others burnt	208
	Designs against Cranmer	209
	And against the Queen	210
	The Duke of Norfolk's fall	211
1547	The Earl of Surry executed	212
	The Duke is attainted in Parliament	132
	The King's sickness	214
	And death	215
	His severities against Papists	ibid.
	The Carthusians in particular	216
	Fisher's sufferings	ibid.
	More's death and character	217
	Attainders after the rebellions	219
	Forest burnt for heresy	ibid.
	Cardinal Pole's friends attainted	220
	Some attainted without being heard	ibid.
	The conclusion	221

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BOOK II.

Of the Life and Reign of King Edward the Sixth.

A. D.		PAGE
	King Edward's birth and education	223
	King's Henry's testament	224
	A Protector chosen	225
	Bishops take out commissions	ibid.
	A creation of noblemen	226
	Laymen had ecclesiastical dignities	227
	Some take down images	228
	Arguments for and against it	229
	The King's funeral	231
	Soul-masses examined	ibid.
	The Coronation	232
	The Chancellor turned out	233
	The Protector's patent	234
	The affairs of Germany	235
	The Council of Trent	236
	Divisions in England	237
	The visitation of all churches	238
	Censures on the injunctions	240
	The war with Scotland	242
	The battle of Musselburgh	244
	The success of the visitation	245
	A Parliament meets	247
	An Act of repeal...	ibid.
	An Act about the Sacrament	248
	An Act concerning the nomination of Bishops	ibid.
	An Act against vagabonds	250
	An Act for dissolving the chantries	ibid.
	The Convocation sits	251
	The affairs of Germany	252
	Differences between the Protector and the Admiral	254
1548	The Marquis of Northampton's divorce	256
	Some ceremonies abrogated	257
	A new office for the communion	258
	Auricular confession examined	260
	Gardiner is imprisoned	261
	A new Liturgy composed	262
	The new offices	265
	Private Communion	ibid.
	Censures passed on the Common Prayer Book	266
	All preaching was for some time restrained	267
	Affairs in Scotland	ibid.
	Affairs in Germany	269
1549	A session of Parliament	270
	An Act for the marriage of the clergy	ibid.
	An Act confirming the Liturgy	272
	An Act for fasting	273
	The Admiral's attainder	274
	A new visitation	275
	Disputes concerning Christ's presence in the Sacrament	277
	Arguments against the corporal presence	278
	Anabaptists in England	280
	Two were burnt	281
	The doctrine of Predestination abused	282
	Tumults in several parts of England	283
	The rebellion in Devonshire	284
	And in Norfolk	285
	The French begin a war	ibid.
	The rebels every where routed	286
	A visitation of Cambridge	287
	Bonner's process	288
	And deprivation	291

A. D.		PAGE
	Ill success of the English	292
	Several expedients proposed	295
	The Emperor refuses his assistance	ibid.
	A faction against the Protector	297
	Which turns to a public breach	298
	The Protector's fall	299
	The Emperor will not assist them	301
	A session of Parliament	ibid.
1550	The Duke of Somerset fined, but restored into favour	302
	A progress in the Reformation	ibid.
	The book of ordinations put out	303
	Pole chosen Pope, but lost it	305
	A treaty with France	306
	Ridley made Bishop of London	307
	Gardiner's process	ibid.
	Latimer preaches at Court	309
	Hooper made Bishop of Gloucester, has some scruples concerning the vestments	ibid.
	A review of the Common Prayer Book	310
	Bucer offers some advices to the King	311
	The King's great knowledge	312
	Altars put down	ibid.
	Affairs of Scotland	313
	And Germany	314
1551	The Popish Clergy comply generally	ibid.
	Bucer's death	315
	Gardiner's deprivation	316
	The Articles of Religion agreed on	317
	Changes made in the Common Prayer Book	318
	Lady Mary in trouble for having mass said	320
	The Earl of Warwick's designs	323
	A tready for Marriage to the King	324
	The Duke of Somerset's fall	325
	His trial	326
	Rich gives up the Great Seal, and it was given to the Bishop of Ely	328
	The Duke of Somerset's execution	329
	The affairs of Germany	331
1552	A session of Parliament	332
	An Act against usury	335
	A repeal of the settlement of the Duke of Somerset's estate	336
	Tonstall is imprisoned	ibid.
	A reformation of ecclesiastical laws	337
	The heads of it	338
	The poverty of the Clergy	341
	Affairs in Ireland	342
	A change in the Garter	343
	Northumberland's severity	344
	Trade flourishes much	345
	Cardan in England	346
	Affairs in Scotland	348
	The affairs in Germany	349
	An account of the Council of Trent	350
	The Emperor's designs are blasted	351
1553	A bill proposed, that Laymen should not hold church dignities	353
	An Act suppressing the bishopric of Durham	ibid.
	Another visitation	ibid.
	Bishops made by the King's patents	354
	Affairs in Germany	355
	The King's sickness	356
	The patents for the succession to the crown	357
	The King's death and character	358

AN
ABRIDGMENT
OF THE
HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION
OF THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

BOOK I.

Of the Beginnings of it, and the Progress made in it by King Henry the Eighth.

BOOK I.

The union of the two Houses of York and Lancaster in K. H. VII.

THE wars of the two houses of York and Lancaster had produced such dismal revolutions, and cast England into such frequent and terrible convulsions, that the nation with great joy received Henry the Seventh; who being himself descended from the House of Lancaster, by his marriage with the heir of the House of York, did deliver them from the fear of any more wars by new pretenders. But the covetousness of his temper, the severity of his ministers, his ill conduct in the matter of Bretagne, and his jealousy of the House of York, not only gave occasion to impostors to disturb his reign, but to several insurrections that were raised in his time: by all which he was become so generally odious to his people, that as his son might have raised a dangerous competition for the crown during his life, as devolved on him by his mother's death, who was indeed the rightful heir; so his death was little lamented. And Henry the Eighth succeeded, with all the advantages he could have

April 22, 1509.

BOOK I.

He disgraces Empson and Dudley.

desired; and his disgracing Empson and Dudley, that had been the cruel ministers of his father's designs for filling his coffers, his appointing restitution to be made of the sums that had been unjustly exacted of the people, and his ordering justice to be done on those rapacious ministers, gave all people hopes of happy times, under a reign that was begun with such an act of justice, that had indeed more mercy in it than those acts of oblivion and pardon with which others did usually begin. And when ministers, by the King's orders, were condemned and executed for invading the liberties of the people under the covert of the King's prerogative, it made the nation conclude, that they should hereafter live secure under the protection of such a prince, and that the violent remedies of parliamentary judgments should be no more necessary, except as in this case, to confirm what had been done before in the ordinary courts of justice.

He is very liberal.

The King also, either from the magnificence of his own temper, or the observation he had made of the ill effects of his father's parsimony, did distribute his rewards and largesses with an unmeasured bounty; so that he quickly emptied his treasure, 1,800,000*l*. which his father had left the fullest in Christendom: but till the ill effects of this appeared, it raised in his court and subjects the greatest hopes possible of a prince, whose first actions shewed an equal mixture of justice and generosity.

His success in the wars.

At his first coming to the crown, the successes of Lewis the Twelfth in Italy made him engage as a party in the wars with the Crown of Spain; he went in person beyond sea, and took both Terouane and Tournay; in which, as he acquired the reputation of a good and fortunate captain; so Maximilian the emperor put an unusual compliment on him, for he took his pay, and rid in his troops. But a peace quickly followed; upon which, the French King married his younger sister Mary; but he dying soon after, Francis the First succeeded: and he renewing his pretensions upon Italy, Henry could not be prevailed on to engage early in the

1513.

1514.

war, till the successes of either party should discover which of the sides was the weaker, and needed his assistance most.

But though hitherto Spain was an unequal match to France, yet all Spain being now united (except Portugal) and strengthened by the accession of the dominions of Burgundy, and enriched by the discovery of the Indies; and all this falling into the hands of so great a prince as Charles, afterwards the fifth emperor of that name; the balance between these kingdoms grew as equal, as the qualities of the princes themselves were, which engaged them in a rivalry that made their minds as divided as their interests were opposite. Charles being preferred to Francis in the competition for the empire, that kindled the animosity higher, and seemed to increase Charles's party, though the extent and distance of his dominions was such, that one soul (though his was one of the largest and most active in the world) could not animate so vast a body. Both these princes saw how considerable an ally or enemy England might prove under a king so much esteemed and beloved; so they spared no arts that might engage him into their interests; they gained his ministers by their presents, and himself by their compliments, for it was soon found out that vanity was his weak side. The Emperor came in person to England, without the distrustful precaution of a passport, and did so prevail with him, and his great favourite Cardinal Wolsey, by the promise of the Popedom, that though an interview followed between Francis and him, yet he found the scale of France was then the heavier; so that, upon the war which followed between those princes, he joined with the Emperor.

He is courted both by France and Spain.

1520. May.

June.

Charles, to assure himself of Cardinal Wolsey, gave him hopes of the Popedom; which perhaps he did the more easily, because Pope Leo being so young a man, there was no great appearance of a vacancy; but the Pope died sooner than perhaps was expected; Adrian, that had been the Emperor's tutor was then chosen, and Cardinal Wolsey

1521. Decemb.

BOOK I.

had the promise of succeeding him: but a second vacancy following within two years, the Emperor broke his word the second time; upon which the Cardinal was so offended, that he resolved to take his revenge so soon as a favourable conjuncture should offer itself; and though he had laid the best train he could at Rome for the Chair, yet upon Clement the Seventh's advancement, he dissembled the matter so with him, as to protest, that he was the very person whom he had wished to see raised to that dignity.

Francis the First is taken prisoner.

The battle of Pavia, in which Francis was taken prisoner, and his army defeated, turned the scale mightily; the Pope was nearest the danger, and felt it soonest; for he projected the Clementine league, by which both he and the Republic of Venice, and the Princes of Italy, engaged in the interests of France, and the King of England was declared the protector of it. Both public and private interests wrought on the King; and his own resentments, as well as the Cardinal's, animated him to it: for the Emperor was so lifted up with success, that he began to form the project of an universal empire; and though he had come to England in person a second time, and had contracted a
1522. marriage with the King's daughter, yet he preferred a match with the Infanta of Portugal to it, judging it to be of more importance to him to keep all quiet
1526. in Spain. Francis was now at liberty, but had given his sons as hostages; so he was slow in his proceedings, though he was the person most concerned in the league: the Emperor was highly displeased with the Pope, whom he looked on as his own creature; but it was always observed, that of what faction soever a Cardinal might be, yet upon the advancement he became the head of his own.

Septemb. 1527.

The Coloness entered Rome with three thousand men, and sacked it, the Pope retiring to the Castle of St. Angelo, and submitting to the conditions that were offered; but their troops being drawn out of Rome, the Pope gathered his together, and fell on their lands, and by a creation of fourteen

BOOK I.

Cardinals for money, (which perhaps may be excused from simony, because they took no care of souls,) he was enabled to prosecute the war; but the Duke of Bourbon, that, upon a discontent given him in France, had gone over to the Emperor's service, came to Rome, and took it by storm, himself being killed in the assault: the Pope and seventeen Cardinals shut themselves in the Castle of St. Angelo; but he was forced to surrender, and was kept prisoner some months.

May. And afterwards the Pope.

This gave great scandal to all Europe; the Emperor himself seemed ashamed of it, for he would suffer no rejoicing to be in Spain for his son's birth, but appointed public processions for the Pope's liberty. Wolsey had now the best opportunity he could wish to declare his zeal for the Pope's service, and his aversion to the Emperor; so he went to France, and made a new league for setting the Pope at liberty. The Emperor prevented the conjunction he saw like to follow, and having brought the Pope to his own terms, he restored him again to his freedom. And thus both the Pope and the King of France, that by very unusual accidents had been taken prisoners, acknowledged that their liberty was chiefly due to the endeavours that King Henry had used for procuring it.

Scotland in disorder.

When he was thus firmly united to the interests of France, he had less to fear from Scotland, which being a perpetual ally to France, gave him no disturbance, but as it was drawn into the war by that Court: that kingdom was also for many years under a King not of age, and so was much distracted by faction; and those broils at home, being the surest way to keep them from making inroads into England, were kept up by the money which the King sent the malcontents; therefore both the Courts of France and England, by the pensions they gave, kept the several parties there in pay, which advantage that kingdom lost when it was joined to England. As for domestic affairs in the government of England, the King left matters much in the hands of his Council, in which there

BOOK I.

were two different parties, headed by the Bishop of Winchester, and the Lord Treasurer, that was Duke of Norfolk. The former much complained of the consumption of the treasure; the other justified himself, that he only obeyed the King's orders. But the Treasurer's party, under a bountiful King, must always be strongest, both in the court and council. In the first parliament, the justice done upon Empson and Dudley gave so great satisfaction, that all things went as the Court desired. In the second parliament, a brief that Pope Julius writ, complaining of Lewis the Twelfth, was first read in the House of Lords, and then carried down by the Lord Chancellor, and some other Lords, to the House of Commons, and read there; upon which money was granted for a war with France. At this time Fox, to support his party against the Lord Treasurer, endeavoured to bring Thomas Wolsey into favour: he was of mean extraction, but had great parts, and a wonderful dexterity in insinuating himself into men's favours; so he being brought into business, did so manage the King, that he became very quickly the master of his spirit, and of all his affairs, and for fifteen years continued to be the most absolute favourite that had ever been seen in England. He saw the King was much set on his pleasures, and had a great aversion to business, and the other counsellors being unwilling to bear the load of affairs, were uneasy to him, by pressing him to govern by his own counsels: but he knew the methods of favourites better, and so was not only easy, but assistant to the King in his pleasures, and undertook to free him from the trouble of government, and to give him leisure to follow his appetites.

Factions in the Council.

Cardinal Wolsey's rise,

He was the master of all the offices at home and treaties abroad, so that all affairs went as he directed them. He, it seems, became soon obnoxious to parliaments, and therefore he tried but one during his ministry, where the supply was granted so scantily, that afterwards he chose rather to raise money by loans and benevolences, than by the free

and greatness.

gift of the people in parliament. He became so scandalous for his ill life, that he grew to be a disgrace to his profession; for he not only served the King, but also shared with him in his pleasures, which were unhappy to him, for he was spoiled with venereal distempers. He was first made Bishop of Tournay in Flanders, then of Lincoln; after that he was promoted to the see of York, and had both the abbey of St. Alban's and the bishopric of Bath and Wells *in commendam:* the last he afterwards exchanged for Durham; and upon Fox's death he quitted Durham, that he might take Winchester: and besides all this, the King, by a special grant, gave him power to dispose of all the ecclesiastical preferments in England; so that in effect he was the Pope of this other world, as was said anciently of an Archbishop of Canterbury, and no doubt but he copied skilfully enough after those patterns that were set him at Rome. Being made a Cardinal, and setting up a legantine court, he found it fit for his ambition to have the Great Seal likewise, that there might be no clashing between those two jurisdictions. He had, in one word, all the qualities necessary for a great minister, and all the vices ordinary in a great favourite.

During this whole reign, the Dukes of Norfolk, father and son, were Treasurers; but that long and strange course of favour, in so ticklish a time, turned fatally upon the son, near the end of the King's life. But he that was the longest and greatest sharer in the King's favour was Charles Brandon, who, from the degree of a private gentleman, was advanced to the highest honours. The strength of his body and the gracefulness of his person contributed more to his rise, than his dexterity in affairs, or the endowments of his mind: for the greatest evidence he gave of his understanding was, that knowing he was not made for business, he did not pretend to it; a temper seldom observed by the creatures of favour. The frame and strength of his body made him a great master in the diversions of that age, justs and tiltings, and a fit match

Charles Brandon's advancement.

BOOK I.

for the King, or rather a second to him, who delighted mightily in them. His person was so acceptable to the ladies, that the King's sister, the Queen Dowager of France, liked him, and, by a strange sort of making love, prefixed him a time for gaining her consent to marry him; and assured him, if that he did not prevail within that time, he might for ever despair. She married him in France; and the King, after a shew of some displeasure, was pacified, and continued his favours to him, not only during his sister's life, but to the last; and in all the revolutions of the Court that followed, in which every minister fell by turns, he still enjoyed his share in the King's bounty and affection: so much happier it proved to be loved than trusted by him.

The King's usage of his parliaments.

The King denied himself none of those pleasures, that are as much legitimated in courts, as they are condemned elsewhere; but yet he declared no mistress but Elizabeth Blunt, and owned no issue but a son he had by her, whom he afterwards made Duke of Richmond. He took great care never to embroil himself with his parliaments; and he met with no opposition in any, except in that one, which was during Cardinal Wolsey's ministry; in which 800,000l. being demanded for a war with France, to be paid in four years, the debate about it rose very high, and not above the half of it was offered; so the Cardinal came into the House of Commons, and desired to hear the reasons of those who were against the supply; but he was told that it was against their orders to speak to a debate before any that was not of the House: he was much dissatisfied at this, and cast the blame of it upon Sir Thomas More, that was Speaker; and after that, he found out other means of supplying the King without parliaments.

The King's education.

The King had been educated with more than ordinary care: and learning being then in its dawning, after a night of long and gross ignorance, his father had given orders that both his elder brother and he should be well instructed in matters of know-

ledge; not with any design to make him Archbishop of Canterbury, for he had made small progress, when his brother Prince Arthur died, being then but eleven years old: perhaps Henry the Seventh felt the prejudices of his own education so much, that he was more careful to have his son better taught; or may be he did it to amuse him, and keep him from looking too early into matters of state. The learning then most in credit among the Clergy was scholastical divinity, which by a shew of subtilty did recommend itself to curious persons; and being very suitable to a vain and contentious temper, was that which agreed best with his disposition; and it being likely to draw the most flattery from divines, became the chief subject of his studies, in which he grew not only to be eminent for a prince, whose knowledge, though never so moderate, will be admired by flatterers as a prodigy, but he might really have passed for a learned man, had his quality been never so mean. He delighted in the purity of the Latin tongue, and understood philosophy, and was so great a master in music, that he composed well. He was a bountiful patron to all learned men, more particularly to Erasmus and Polydore Virgil, and delighted much in those returns which hungry scholars use to make to liberal princes; for he loved flattery out of measure, and particularly to be extolled for his learning and great understanding; and he had enough of it to have surfeited a man of any modesty; for all the world, both at home and abroad, contended who should exceed most indecently in setting out his praises: the Clergy carried it; for as he had merited most at their hands, both by his espousing the interests of the Papacy, and by his entering the lists with Luther; so those that hoped to be advanced by those arts were as little ashamed in magnifying him out of measure, as he was in receiving their gross commendations.

His learning and vanity.

The manner of promotion to bishoprics and abbeys was then the same that had taken place ever

The manner of the

BOOK I.

promotion of Bishops.

since the investitures by the ring and staff were taken out of the hands of Princes. Upon a vacancy, the King seized on all the temporalities, and granted a licence for an election, with a special recommendation of the person; which being returned, the royal assent was given, and it was sent to Rome, that bulls might be expedited, and then the Bishop elect was consecrated: after that, he came to the King, and renounced every clause in his bulls that was contrary to the King's prerogative, or to the law, and swore fealty; and then were the temporalities restored. Nor could bulls be sued out at Rome without a licence under the Great Seal; so that the Kings of England had reserved the power to themselves of promoting to ecclesiastical benefices, notwithstanding all the invasions the Popes had made on the temporal power of Princes.

A contest concerning the ecclesiastical immunity.

The immunity of Churchmen for crimes committed by them, till they were first degraded by the spirituality, occasioned the only contest that was in the beginning of this reign between the secular and ecclesiastical courts. King Henry the Seventh passed a law, that Clerks convict should be burnt in the hand. A temporary law was also made in the beginning of this reign, that murderers and robbers, not being Bishops, Priests, nor Deacons, should be denied the benefit of Clergy: but this was to last only till the next parliament, and so being not continued by it, the act determined. The Abbot of Winchelcomb preached severely against it, as being contrary to the laws of God, and the liberties of the holy Church, and said, that all who assented to it had fallen under the censures of
1515. the Church. And afterwards he published a book, to prove that all Clerks, even of the lower orders, were sacred, and could not be judged by the temporal courts. This being done in parliament time, the temporal Lords, with the Commons, addressed to the King, desiring him to repress the insolence of the Clergy. So a public hearing was appointed before the King and all the judges: Dr. Standish,

a Franciscan, argued against the immunity, and proved that the judging Clerks had been in all times practised in England; and that it was necessary for the peace and safety of mankind, that all criminals should be punished. The Abbot argued on the other side, and said it was contrary to a decree of the Church, and was a sin in itself. Standish answered, that all decrees were not observed: for, notwithstanding the decrees for residence, Bishops did not reside at their cathedrals. And since no decree did bind till it was received, this concerning immunity, which was never received in England, did not bind. After they had fully argued the matter, the laity were all of opinion, that the Friar was too hard for the Abbot, and so moved the King that the Bishops might be ordered to make him preach a recantation sermon. But they refused to do it, and said, they were bound by their oaths to maintain his opinion. Standish was, upon this, much hated by the Clergy, but the matter was let fall; yet the Clergy carried the point, for the law was not continued.

Not long after this, an accident fell out, that drew great consequences after it. One Richard Hun, a merchant in London, was sued by his parish priest for a mortuary in the Legate's court; so he was advised to sue the priest in the temporal court for a *præmunire*, for bringing the King's subjects before a foreign and illegal court. This incensed the Clergy so much, that they contrived his destruction: so hearing that he had Wickliffe's Bible, he was upon that put in the Bishop's prison for heresy; but being examined upon sundry articles, he confessed some things, and submitted himself to mercy; upon which they ought, according to the law, to have enjoined him penance, and discharged him, this being his first crime: but he could not be prevailed on by the terror of this to let his suit fall in the temporal court; so one night his neck was broken with an iron chain, and he was wounded in other parts of his body, and then knit up in his own girdle; and it was given out that he had

Hun imprisoned for heresy:

Murdered.

BOOK I.

hanged himself: but the Coroner's inquest, by examining the body, and by several other evidences, and particularly by the confession of the Sumner, gave their verdict, that he was murdered by the Bishop's Chancellor, Dr. Horsey, and the Sumner and the Bell-ringer. The spiritual court proceeded against the dead body, and charged Hun with all the heresy in Wickliff's Preface to the Bible, because that was found in his possession; so he was condemned as an heretic, and upon that his body was burnt; the Bishops of Durham and Lincoln, and many doctors, sitting with the Bishop of London when he gave judgment; so that it was looked upon as an act of the whole clergy. But this produced very ill effects; for the Clergy lost the affections of the city to such a degree, that they could never recover them: nor did any one thing dispose them more than this did, to the entertaining the new preachers, and to every thing that tended to the reproach of the Churchmen, whom they esteemed no more their pastors, but accounted them barbarous murderers. The rage went so high, that the Bishop of London complained, that he was not safe in his own house, and there were many hearings before the council; for the Cardinal did all he could to stop the progress of the matter, but in vain: for the Bishop's Chancellor and the Sumner were indicted as principals in the murder. In parliament an act passed, restoring Hun's children; but the Commons sent up a bill concerning his murder; yet that was laid aside by the Lords, where the Clergy were the majority. The Clergy looked on the opposition that Standish had made in the point of their immunities, as that which gave the rise to Hun's first suit; so the Convocation cited him to answer for his carriage in that matter: but he claimed the King's protection, since he had done nothing, but only pleaded in the King's name. The Clergy pretended they did not prosecute him for his pleading, but for some of his divinity lectures contrary to the liberty of the Church, which the King was bound to maintain by his coronation

And condemned: his body burnt.

Further disputes about immunity.

oath: but the temporal Lords, the Judges, and the Commons, prayed the King also to maintain the laws according to his coronation oath, and to give Standish his protection. The King upon this, being in great perplexity, required Veysey, afterwards Bishop of Exeter, to declare upon his conscience and allegiance the truth in that matter. His opinion was against the immunity; so another public hearing being appointed, Standish was accused for teaching, "that the inferior orders were "not sacred; that their exemption was not founded "on a divine right, but that the laity might punish "them; that the Canons of the Church did not "bind till they were received; and that the study "of the Canon Law was useless." Of these he denied some, and justified other particulars. Veysey being required to give his opinion, alleged, that the laws of the Church did only oblige where they were received: as the law of the celibate of the Clergy, received in the West, did not bind the Greek Churches, that never received it; so the exemption of the Clerks not being received, did not bind in England. The Judges gave their opinion next, which was, that those who prosecuted Standish were all in a *præmunire*. So the court broke up. But in another hearing, in the presence of the greatest part of both Houses of Parliament, the Cardinal said in the name of the Clergy, that though they intended to do nothing against the King's prerogative, yet the trying of Clerks seemed to be contrary to the liberty of the Church, which they were bound by their oaths to maintain. So they prayed that the matter might be referred to the Pope.

The King answered, that he thought Standish had answered them fully. The Bishop of Winchester said, he would not stand to his opinion at his peril. Standish upon that said, What can one poor friar do against all the Clergy of England? The Archbishop of Canterbury said, some of the Fathers of the Church had suffered martyrdom upon that account; but the Chief Justice replied, that

BOOK I.

many holy Kings had maintained that law, and many holy bishops had obeyed it. In conclusion, the King declared, that he would maintain his rights, and would not submit them to the decrees of the Church, otherwise than as his ancestors had done. Warham Archbishop of Canterbury desired so long time might be given, that they might have an answer returned from Rome; but that was not granted: yet a temper was found. Horsey was appointed to be brought to his trial for Hun's murder, and upon his pleading not guilty, no evidence was to be brought, and so he was to be discharged. But upon this it was said, the Judges were more concerned to maintain their jurisdiction, than to do justice upon so horrid a murder; so the discontent given by it was raised so much higher, and the crime of a few murderers was now transferred upon the whole Clergy, who had concerned themselves so much in their preservation; and this did very much dispose the laity to all that was done afterwards, for pulling down the ecclesiastical tyranny.

The King is much addicted to the Papacy.

This was the only uneasy step in this King's reign, till the suit for his divorce was commenced. In all other points he was constantly in the Pope's interests, who sent him the common compliments of roses, and such other trifles, by which that see had treated princes so long as children. The king made the defence of the Popedom an article in his leagues with other princes; and Pope Julius having called a General Council to the Lateran, in opposition to that which by Lewis the Twelfth's means was held at Pisa, the King sent the Bishops of Worcester and Rochester, the Prior of St. John's, and the Abbot of Winchelcomb, to represent the Church of England, thereby to give the greater authority to a packed meeting of Italian Bishops and Abbots, who assumed to themselves the title of a Holy and Œcumenical Council. But no compliment wrought so much on the King's vanity, as the title of *Defender of the Faith*, sent him by

Pope Leo, upon the book which he writ against Luther, concerning the sacraments. BOOK I.

The Cardinal drew upon himself the hatred of the Clergy, by a bull which impowered him to visit all the monasteries of England, and to dispense with all the laws of the Church for a year. He also gave out, that he intended to reform the Clergy, though he forgot that which ought to be the first step of all who pretend to reform others; for none could be worse than himself was. He lived in great luxury, and in an insolent affectation of the highest state possible; many of his domestics being men of the first rank. He intended to suppress many monasteries, and thought the best way for doing it with the least scandal was first to visit them, and so to expose their corruptions; but he was afterwards diverted from this; yet the design which he laid being communicated to Cromwell, that was then his secretary, it was put in practice toward the end of this reign, when the monasteries were all suppressed.

Cardinal Wolsey intends to reform the Clergy.

The convocations were of two sorts; some were summoned by the King, when parliaments were called, as is in use to this day; only the King did not then prefix a day, but left that to the Archbishops. Others were called by the Archbishops, and were provincial synods, of which there were but few. The Cardinal pretended, that the summoning all convocations belonged to him as Legate; so that when Warham had called one, he dissolved it after it was met, and summoned it of new. In that convocation, a great supply was granted to the King, of half a year's rent of all 1522.
benefices, payable in five years, for assisting him in his wars with France and Scotland. This was much opposed by the Cardinal's enemies; but it was agreed to at last, a proviso being made, that such a heavy tax should never be made a precedent for the future; though the grant they made was more likely to become a precedent, than this proviso to be a security for the time to come.

The summoning of convocations.

This increased the aversion the Clergy had to the

BOOK I.

Cardinal: the monks were more particularly incensed; for they saw he was resolved to suppress their foundations, and convert them to other uses.

The state of the monasteries.

In the days of King Edgar, most of the cathedrals of England were possessed by secular priests, who were generally married; but Dunstan and some other monks took advantage from the vices of that prince, to persuade him to make compensation for them; and as he made laws, in which he declared what compensations were to be made for sins, both by the rich and poor; so, it seems, he thought the founding of monasteries was the fittest compensation for a King; and he turned out all the married priests, and put monks in their stead. From that time the credit and wealth of monastic orders continued to increase for several ages, till the begging orders succeeded, in the esteem of the world, to the place which the monks formerly had; for they decreased as much in true worth, as the false appearances of it had now raised their revenues. They were not only ignorant themselves, but very jealous of the progress learning was making; for Erasmus, and the other restorers of it, treating them with much scorn, they looked on the increase of it as that which would much lessen them; and so not only did not contribute to it, but rather detracted from it, as that which would make way for heresy.

Cardinal Wolsey suppresses many.

The Cardinal designed two noble foundations, the one at Oxford, and the other at Ipswich, the place of his birth, both for the encouragement of the learned, and the instruction of youth: and for that end he procured a bull for suppressing divers monasteries, which being executed, their lands by law fell to the King; and thereupon the Cardinal took out grants of them, and endowed his colleges with them.

The growth of Wickliff's doctrine.

But we shall next consider the state of religion in England. From the days of Wickliffe there were many that differed from the doctrines commonly received. He writ many books that gave great offence to the Clergy, yet being powerfully sup-

ported by the Duke of Lancaster, they could not have their revenge during his life; but he was after his death condemned, and his body was raised and burnt. The Bible which he translated into English, with the Preface which he set before it, produced the greatest effects. In it he reflected on the ill lives of the Clergy, and condemned the worship of saints and images, and the corporal presence of Christ in the Sacrament: but the most criminal part was, the exhorting all people to read the Scriptures; where the testimonies against those corruptions were such, that there was no way to deal with them but to silence them. His followers were not men of letters, but being wrought on by the easy conviction of plain sense, were by them determined in their persuasions. They did not form themselves into a body, but were contented to hold their opinions secretly, and did not spread them, but to their particular confidants. The Clergy sought them out every where, and did deliver them after conviction to the secular arm, that is, to the fire.

The cruelty of the Clergy.

In the primitive Church, all cruel proceedings upon the account of heresy were condemned; so that the Bishops who accused some heretics, upon which they were put to death, were excommunicated for it. Banishment and fines, with some incapacities, were the highest severities, even upon the greatest provocations. But as the Church grew corrupted in other things, so a cruel spirit being generally the mark of all ill priests, of whatsoever religion they are, they fell under the influences of it; and from the days of the rise of the Albigeneses, the severities of the Inquisition, and burnings, with many other cruelties, were by the means of the Dominicians set up, first in France, and then in the other parts of Europe. A decree was also made in the Council of the Lateran, requiring all magistrates, under the pains of forfeiture and deposition, to extirpate heretics. Burning agreed best with their cruelty, as being the most terrible sort of death, and bearing some resemblance to everlasting burnings in hell; so they

BOOK I.

damned the souls of the heretics, and burnt their bodies; but the execution of the former part of the sentence was not in their power, as the latter part was. The Canons of that Council being received in England, the proceedings against heretics grew to be a part of the common law, and a writ for burning them was issued out upon their conviction. But special statutes were afterwards made: the first under Richard the Second was only agreed to by the Lords; and, without its being consented to by the Commons, the King assented to it; yet all the severity in it was no more, than that writs should go out to the sheriffs to hold heretics in prison till they should be judged by the laws of the Church. The preamble of the law says, "they were very numerous, that they had a peculiar habit, that they "preached in many churches, and other places, "against the faith, and refused to submit to the "censures of the Church." This was sent with the other acts, according to the custom of that time, to all the sheriffs of England, to be proclaimed by them: but the year following, in the next Parliament, the commons complained that that act was published, to which they had never consented; so an act passed, declaring the former null; yet this was suppressed, and the former was still esteemed a good law.

Laws made in England against heretics.

When Henry the Fourth came to the crown, he owing it in great measure to the help of the Clergy, passed an act against all that preached without the Bishop's licence, or against the faith; and it was enacted, that all transgressors of that sort should be imprisoned, and within three months be brought to a trial: if upon conviction they offered to abjure, and were not relapses, they were to be imprisoned and fined at pleasure: and if they refused to abjure, or were relapses, they were to be delivered to the secular arm, and the magistrates were to burn them in some public place. But though by this statute no mention is made of sending out a writ for execution; yet that continued still to be practised: and that same year Sautre, a

priest, being condemned as a relapse, and degraded by Arundell, Archbishop of Canterbury, a writ was issued out for it, in which burning is called the common punishment, which related to the customs of other nations: for this was the first instance of that kind in England. In the beginning of Henry the Fifth's reign, there was a conspiracy against the King discovered, (though others, that lived not long after, say it was only pretended and contrived by the Clergy,) of Oldcastle and some other of Wickliff's followers, then called Lollards; upon which many were condemned both for treason and heresy, who were first hanged, and then burnt; and a law followed, that the Lollards should forfeit all that they held in fee-simple, as well as their goods and chattels, to the King; and all sheriffs and magistrates were required to take an oath, to destroy all heresies and Lollardies, and to assist the Ordinaries in their proceedings against them. Yet the Clergy making ill use of these laws, and vexing all people that gave them any offence with long imprisonments, the judges interposed, and examined the grounds of their commitments, and, as they saw cause, bailed or discharged the prisoners; and took upon them to declare what opinions were heresies by law, and what were not. Thus the people sought for shelter under their protection, and found more mercy at the hands of common lawyers, than from them who ought to have been the pastors of their souls, and the publishers of the most merciful religion that ever was.

The prosecution of Lollards before Warham.

In the beginning of this reign there were several persons brought into the Bishops' courts for heresy, before Warham. Forty-eight were accused: but of these, forty-three abjured, twenty-seven men and sixteen women, most of them being of Tenterden; and five of them, four men and one woman, were condemned; some as obstinate heretics, and others as relapses: and, against the common ties of nature, the woman's husband and her two sons were brought witnesses against her. Upon their conviction, a certificate was made by the Archbishop to

BOOK I.

the Chancery: upon which, since there is no pardon upon record, the writs for burning them must have gone out in course, and the execution of them is little to be doubted; for the Clergy were seldom guilty of much mercy in such cases, having divested themselves of all bowels, as the dregs of unmortified nature. The articles objected to them were, that they believed, that in the Eucharist there was nothing but material bread; that the Sacraments of Baptism, Confirmation, Confession, Matrimony, and extreme Unction, were neither necessary, nor profitable; that priests had no more power than laymen; that pilgrimages were not meritorious, and that the money and labour spent in them were spent in vain; that images ought not to be worshipped, and that they were only stocks and stones; that prayers ought not to be made to saints, but only to God; that there was no virtue in holy water, or holy bread. Those who abjured did swear to discover all that held those errors, or were suspected of them; and they were enjoined to carry a faggot in procession, and to wear on their clothes the representation of one in flames, as a public confession that they had deserved to be burnt. There were also four in London that abjured almost the same opinions; and Fox says, that six were burnt in Smithfield, who might be perhaps those whom Warham had condemned; for there is no mention of any that were condemned in the registers of London. By all this it will appear, that many in this nation were prepared to receive those doctrines, which were afterwards preached by the reformers, even before Luther began first to oppose indulgences.

The progress of Luther's doctrine.

The rise and progress of his doctrine are well known; the scandalous extolling of indulgences gave the first occasion to all that contradiction that followed between him and his followers, and the Church of Rome; in which, if the corruptions and cruelties of the Clergy had not been so visible and scandalous, so small a matter could not have pro-

BOOK I.

duced such a revolution: but any crisis will put ill humours in fermentation.

The Bishops were grossly ignorant; they seldom resided in their dioceses, except it had been to riot it at high festivals; and all the effect their residence could have, was to corrupt others by their ill example. They followed the court of Princes, and aspired to the greatest offices. The Abbots and Monks were wholly given up to luxury and idleness; and the unmarried state, both of the seculars and regulars, gave infinite scandal to the world; for it appeared, that the restraining them from having wives of their own made them conclude that they had a right to all other men's. The inferior Clergy were no better; and not having places of retreat to conceal their vices in, as the Monks had, they became more public. In sum, all ranks of Churchmen were so universally despised and hated, that the world was very apt to be possessed with prejudice against their doctrines, for the sake of the men, whose interest it was to support them: and the worship of God was so defiled with much gross superstition, that, without great enquiries, all men were easily convinced that the Church stood in great need of a reformation. This was much increased when the books of the Fathers began to be read, in which the difference between the former and latter ages of the Church did very evidently appear. They found that a blind superstition came first in the room of true piety; and when by its means the wealth and interest of the Clergy was highly advanced, the Popes had upon that established their tyranny; under which, not only the meaner people, but even the crowned heads, had long groaned. All these things concurred to make way for the advancement of the Reformation: and so the books of the Germans being brought into England, and translated, many were prevailed on by them. Upon this a hot persecution, which is always the foundation on which a vicious Clergy set up their rest, was vigorously set on foot, to such a degree, that six men and women were burnt in

BOOK I.

Coventry in Passion week, only for teaching their children the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in English. Great numbers were every where brought into the Bishops' courts; of whom some were burnt, but the greater part abjured.

The King laid hold on this occasion to become the Church's champion, and wrote against Luther, as was formerly told. His book, besides the title of *Defender of the Faith*, drew upon him all that flattery could invent to extol it; yet Luther, not daunted with such an antagonist, but rather proud of it, answered it, and treated him as much below the respect that was due to a king, as his flatterers had raised him above it. Tindal's translation of the New Testament, with some notes added to it, drew a severe condemnation from the Clergy, there being nothing in which they were more concerned, than to keep the people unacquainted with that book. Sir Thomas More seconded the King, and employed his pen in the service of the Clergy, but mixed too much gall with his ink. The Cardinal's behaviour in this matter was unaccountable; for he not only acted nothing against the new preachers; but when some Bishops moved for a visitation of the Universities, upon a report of the spreading of heresy in them, he stopped it; yet afterwards he called a meeting of several Bishops, Abbots, and Divines, before whom two preachers, Bilney and Arthur, were brought, and articles of heresy being objected to them, and proved by witnesses, they for a while seemed resolved to seal their doctrines with their blood; but what through fear, what through persuasion, they were prevailed on (first Arthur, and Bilney five days after) to abjure: but though Bilney was a relapse, yet the Cardinal was gentle to him; and Tonstal, Bishop of London, enjoined him penance, and discharged him. So much may suffice to shew the condition of affairs in England, both in Church and State, when the process of the King's divorce was first set on foot.

BOOK I.

The King's marriage. 1502.

Henry the Seventh entered into a firm alliance with Ferdinand of Spain, and agreed a match between his son Prince Arthur, and Catharine the Infanta of Spain. She came into England, and was married in November; but on the second of April after, the Prince died. They were not only bedded in ceremony the night of the marriage, but continued still to lodge together; and the Prince, by some indecent raillery, gave occasion to believe that the marriage was consummated, which was so little doubted, that some imputed his too early end to his excess in it. After his death, his younger brother was not created Prince of Wales till ten months had passed, it being then apparent that the Princess was not with child by the late Prince; women were also set about her to wait on her with the precaution that is necessary in such a case; so that it was generally believed that she was no virgin when the Prince died.

Henry the Seventh, being unwilling to restore so great a portion as two hundred thousand ducats, proposed a second match for her with his younger son Henry. Warham did then object against the lawfulness of it; yet Fox, Bishop of Winchester, was for it, and the opinion of the Pope's authority was then so well established, that it was thought a dispensation from Rome was sufficient to remove all objections; so one was obtained, grounded upon a desire of the two young persons to marry together for preserving peace between the Crowns of England and Spain, by which the Pope dispensed with it, notwithstanding the Princess's marriage to Prince Arthur, which was (as is said in the bull) perhaps consummated. Decemb. 1503.

The Pope was then in war with Lewis the Twelfth of France, and so would refuse nothing to the King of England, being perhaps not unwilling that Princes should contract such marriages, by which the legitimation of their issue depending on the Pope's dispensation, they would be thereby obliged in interest to support that authority. Upon 1505.

BOOK I.

this, a marriage followed, the Prince being yet under age; but the same day in which he came to be of age, he did, by his father's orders, make a protestation that he retracted and annulled his marriage.

Henry the Seventh, at his death, charged him to break it off entirely, being perhaps apprehensive of such a return of confusion upon a controverted succession to the crown, as had been during the wars of the Houses of York and Lancaster; but upon his death, Henry the Eighth, being then eighteen years of age, married her: she bore him
1516. two sons, who died soon after they were born; and a daughter Mary, who lived to reign after him; but after that, the Queen contracted some diseases that made her unacceptable to the King; so all hope of any other issue failing, several matches were proposed for his daughter: the first was with the Dauphin; then she was contracted with the Emperor; and after that a proposition was made for the King of Scotland; and last of all, a treaty was made with Francis the First, either for himself, he being then a widower, or for his second son, the Duke of Orleans, to be determined at his option; upon which the Bishop of Tarbe was sent over ambassador to conclude it: he made an exception that the marriage was doubtful, and the lady not legitimate; which had been likewise made by the Cortes of Spain, by whose advice the Emperor broke the contract upon that very account; so that other Princes moving scruples against a marriage with his daughter, the heir of so great a crown, the King began to make some himself, or rather to publish them, for he said afterwards he had them some years before.

Yet the Cardinal's hatred to the Emperor was looked on as one of the secret springs of the King's aversion to his aunt, which the King vindicating him in public afterwards did not remove; that being considered only as a court contrivance.

The King
The King seemed to lay the greatest weight on

the prohibition in the Levitical law, of marrying the brother's wife; and he being conversant in Thomas Aquinas's writings, found that he and the other Schoolmen looked on those laws as moral, and for ever binding, and that by consequence the Pope's dispensation was of no force, since his authority went not so far as to dispense with the laws of God. All the Bishops of England, Fisher of Rochester only excepted, declared under their hands and seals, that they judged the marriage unlawful. The ill consequences of wars that might follow upon a doubtful title to the crown were also much considered, or at least pretended. It is not probable that the engagement of the King's affections to any other gave the rise to all this; for so prying a courtier as Wolsey was would have discovered it, and not have projected a marriage with Francis's sister, if he had seen the King prepossessed: it is more probable, that the King conceiving himself upon the point of being discharged of his former marriage, gave a free scope to his affections, which upon that came to settle on Anne Boleyn. The King had reason enough to expect a quick and favourable dispatch of his business at Rome, where dispensations or divorces in favour of Princes used to pass, rather with regard to the merits of the Prince that desired them, than of the cause itself. His alliance seemed then necessary to the Pope, who was at that time in captivity. Nor could the Emperor with any good colour oppose his suit, since he had broken his contract with his daughter upon the account of the doubtfulness of the marriage.

has some scruples concerning his marriage.

The Cardinal had also given him full assurances of a good answer from Rome; whether upon the knowledge he had of that Court, and of the Pope's temper, or upon any promise made him, is not certain. The reasons gathered by the Canonists for annulling the bull of dispensation, upon which the divorce was to follow in course, were grounded upon some false suggestions in the bull, and upon the protestation which the King had made when

BOOK I. he came to be of age. In a word, they were such, that a favourable Pope, left to himself, would have yielded to them without any scruple.

Anne Boleyn was born in the year 1507, and went to France at seven years of age, and returned twelve years after to England. She was much admired in both Courts, and continued to live without any blemish till her unfortunate fall gave occasion to some malicious writers to defame her in all the parts of her life: she was more beautiful than graceful, and more cheerful than discreet. She wanted none of the charms of wit or person, and must have had extraordinary attractives, since she could so long manage such a King's affection, in which her being with child soon after the marriage shews, that in the whole course of seven years she kept him at a due distance. Upon her coming to England, the Lord Percy, being then a domestic of the Cardinal's, made love to her, and went so far as to engage himself some way to marry her, and that being entertained by her, shews she had then no aspirings to the crown. But the Cardinal, having understood somewhat of the King's secret intentions, did so threaten him, that he made him, though not without great difficulty, break off his addresses to her.

1527. And applies to the Pope.

Knight, then Secretary of State, was sent to Rome to prepare the Pope in the matter; and the family of the Cassali having much of the Pope's favour, they were likewise employed to promote it. To Gregory Cassali did the Cardinal send a large dispatch, setting forth all the reasons both in conscience and policy, for obtaining a commission to himself to judge the affair. Great promises were made in the King's name, both for public and private services, and nothing was forgot that was likely to work either on the Pope, or those Cardinals that had the greatest credit about him. Knight made application to the Pope in the secretest manner he could, and had a very favourable answer: for the Pope promised frankly to dissolve the marriage: but another promise being exacted

of him in the Emperor's name, not to proceed in that affair, he was reduced to great straits; not so much out of regard to his promises (for he had so engaged himself, that it was unavoidable for him to break one) as to his interests: he was then at the Emperor's mercy, so he was in fear of offending him, yet he both hated him, and was distrustful of him, and had no mind to lose the King of England; therefore he studied to gain time, and promised that if the King would have a little patience, he should not only have that which he asked, but every thing that was in his power to grant.

The Cardinal *Sanctorum quatuor* made some scruples concerning the bull that was demanded, till he had raised his price, and got a great present, and then the Pope signed both a commission for Wolsey to try the cause, and judge in it, and also a dispensation, and put them in Knight's hands; but with tears prayed him that there might be no proceedings upon them, till the Emperor were put out of a capacity of executing his revenge upon him; and whenever that was done, he would own this act of justice, which he did in the King's favour. For though the Pope on public occasions used to talk in the language of one that pretended to be St. Peter's successor; yet in private treaties he minded nothing but his own security, and the interests of his family; and being a very crafty man, he proposed an expedient, which if the King had followed, it had put a quicker and easier end to the process. He found his sending bulls, or a Legate, to England, would become public, and draw the Emperor upon him, and must admit of delays, and be full of danger; therefore he proposed, if the King was satisfied in his own conscience, in which he believed no doctor could resolve him better than himself, then he might without more noise make judgment be given in England; and upon that marry another wife, and send over to Rome for a confirmation; which would be the more easily granted, if the thing were once done. This the Pope desired might be represented to the King as the advice of

1528.

Who was very favourable.

the Cardinals, and not as his own. But the King's counsellors thought this more dangerous than the way of a process; for if upon the King's second marriage a confirmation should be denied, then the right of succession by it would be still very doubtful, so they would not venture on it.

The Pope was at this time distasted with Cardinal Wolsey; for he understood, that during his captivity he had been in an intrigue, to get himself chosen Vicar of the Papacy, and was to have sate at Avignon, which might have produced a new schism. Staphileus, Dean of the Rota, being then in England, was wrought on by the promise of a bishopric, and a recommendation to a Cardinal's hat, to promote the King's affair; and by him the Cardinal wrote to the Pope, in a most earnest strain, for a dispatch of this business; and he desired that an indifferent and tractable Cardinal might be sent over, with a full commission to join with him, and to judge the matter; proposing to the King's ambassadors Campegio as the fittest man; when a Legate should be named, he ordered presents to be made him, and that they would hasten his dispatch, and take care that the commission should be full. But upon the arrival of the couriers that were sent from Rome, Gardiner, the Cardinal's secretary, and Fox, the King's Almoner, the one a Canonist, and the other a Divine, were sent thither with letters, both from the King and Cardinal, to the Pope, and they carried orders (that were like to be more effectual than any arguments they could offer) to make great presents to the Cardinals. They carried with them the draught of a bull, containing all the clauses that could be invented, to make the matter sure; one clause was to declare the issue of the marriage good, as being begotten *bona fide*, which was perhaps put in to make the Queen more easy, since by that it appeared, that her daughter should not suffer, which way soever the matter went.

The Cardinal, in his letters to Cassali, offered to take the blame on his own soul, if the Pope would

grant this bull; and, with an earnestness as hearty and warm as can be expressed in words, he pressed the thing, and added, that he perceived, that if the Pope continued inexorable, the King would proceed another way.

BOOK I.

Campegio sent over Legate.

These treaties had such effects, that Campegio was declared Legate, and ordered to go for England, and join in commission with Wolsey, for judging this matter. Campegio was Bishop of Salisbury, and having a son whom he intended to advance, was no doubt a tractable man; but to raise his price the higher, he moved many scruples, and seemed to enter upon this employment with great fear and aversion. Wolsey, who knew his temper, pressed him vehemently to make all the haste he could, and gave him the assurance of great rewards from the King: for whatever was to be made use of publicly for form's sake, these were the effectual arguments that were most likely to convince a man of his temper: in which Wolsey was so sincere, that in a letter he wrote to him, that of a good conscience being put among other motives to persuade him, in the first draught, the Cardinal struck it out, as knowing how little it would signify. Campegio set out from Rome, and carried with him a decretal bull for annulling the marriage, which was trusted to him, and he was authorized to shew it to the King and Wolsey; but was required not to give it out of his hands to either of them. At this time Wolsey was taken with the sweating sickness, which then raged in England; and by a compliment, which both the King and Anne Boleyn wrote him, on the same piece of paper, it appears he was then privy to the King's design of marrying her, and intended to advance himself yet higher, by his merits, in procuring her the crown.

This year he settled his two great colleges: and finding both the King and people much pleased with his converting some monasteries to such uses, he intended to suppress more, and to convert them to bishoprics and cathedral churches, which the

BOOK I.

Pope was not willing to grant, the religious orders making great opposition to it; but Gardiner told him, it was necessary, and must be done: so a power for doing it was added to the Legate's commission.

At this time, the Queen engaged the Emperor to espouse her interests, which he did the more willingly, because the King was then in the interests of France; and to help her business, a breve was either found, or forged, (the last is more probable,) of the same date with the bull, that dispensed with her marriage; but with stronger clauses in it, to answer those objections that were made against some defects in the bull, though it did not seem probable, that in the same day a bull and a breve would have been granted for the same thing, in such different strains. The most considerable variation was, that whereas the bull did only suppose, that the Queen's marriage with Prince Arthur was perhaps consummated; the breve did suppose it absolutely, without a perhaps. This was thought to prejudice the Queen's cause as much as the suspicion of the forgery did blemish her agents.

Campegio comes into England.

In October, Campegio came into England; and after the first compliments were over, he first advised the King to give over the prosecution of his suit; and then counselled the Queen, in the Pope's name, to enter into a religious life, and make vows; but both were in vain; and he, by affecting an impartiality, almost lost both sides. But he in great measure pacified the King, when he shewed him the bull he had brought over for annulling the marriage; yet he would not part with it out of his hands, neither to the King, nor the Cardinal; upon which great instances were made at Rome, that Campegio might be ordered to shew it to some of the King's counsellors, and to go on and end the business, otherwise Wolsey would be ruined, and England lost; yet all this did not prevail on the crafty Pope, who knew it was intended once to have the bull out of Campegio's hands, and then the King would leave him to the Emperor's indignation; but

though he positively refused to grant that, yet he said he left the Legates in England free to judge as they saw cause, and promised that he would confirm their sentence.

The Imperialists at Rome pressed him hard to inhibit the Legates, and to recall the cause, that it might be heard before the Consistory. The Pope declined this motion; and, to mollify the King, he sent Campana, one of his bedchamber, over to England, with compliments too high to gain much credit: he assured the King, that the Pope would do for him all he could, not only in justice and equity, but in the fulness of his power: and that though he had reason to be very apprehensive of the Emperor's resentments, yet that did not divert him from his zeal for the King's service; for if his resigning the Popedom would advance it, it should not stick at that. He also was ordered to require the Legates to put a speedy end to the business: but his secret instructions to Campegio were of another strain; he charged him to burn the bull, and to draw out the matter by all the delays he could invent. Sir Francis Brian and Peter Vannes were dispatched to Rome with new propositions, to try, whether, if both the King and Queen took religious vows, so that their marriage were upon that annulled, the Pope would engage to dispense with the King's vow, or grant him a licence for having two wives. Wolsey also offered in the King's name to settle a pay for two thousand men, that should be a guard to the Pope, and to procure a restitution of some of his towns, on which the Venetians had seized. But the Pope did not care to have his guards paid by other Princes; which he looked on as a putting himself in their hands. He was in fear of every thing that might bring a new calamity upon him; and was now resolved to unite himself firmly with the Emperor, by whose means only he hoped to re-establish his family at Florence; and ever after this, all the use he made of the King's earnestness in his divorce, was only to draw in the Emperor to his interests, on the better

Campana sent to deceive the King.

The Pope resolved to unite with the Emperor.

BOOK I.

terms. The Emperor also was then pressing him hard for a General Council; of which, besides the aversion that the Court of Rome had to it, he had particular room to be afraid; for being a bastard, he was threatened with deposition, as incapable, by the Canons of the Church, to hold such a dignity. The Pope proposed a journey *incognito,* to Spain, and desired Wolsey to go with him, for obtaining a general peace. But in secret he was making up with the Emperor, and gave his agents assurances, that though the Legates gave sentence, he would not confirm it. So the King's correspondents at Rome wrote to him, to set on the war more vigorously against the Emperor; for he could expect nothing at Rome, unless the Emperor's affairs declined.

1529. The Pope went on cajoling those the King sent over, and gave new assurances, that though he would not grant a bull, by which the divorce should be immediately his own act, yet he would confirm the Legate's sentence; so he resolved to cast the load wholly upon them: he said, if he did it himself, a Council would be called by the Emperor's means, in which his bull would be annulled, and himself deposed, which would bring on a new confusion; and that, considering the footing heresy had got, would ruin the Church. The Pope inclined more to the dissolving the marriage, by the Queen's taking vows, as that which could be best defended: but the Cardinal gave him notice, that the Queen would never be brought to that, unless her nephews advised it.

The Pope's sickness.

At this time the Pope was taken suddenly ill, and fell into a great sickness; upon which the Imperialists began to prepare for a conclave: but Farnese and the Cardinal of Mantua opposed them, and seemed to have inclination for Wolsey; whom, as his correspondents wrote to him, they reverenced as a deity. Upon this he sent a courier to Gardiner, then on his way to Rome, with large directions how to manage the election; it was reckoned, that the King of France, joining heartily with the

Wolsey's aspiring.

BOOK I.

1529.

King, of which he seemed confident, there were only six Cardinals wanting to make the election sure, and besides sums of money, and other rewards that were to be distributed among them, he was to give them assurance, that the Cardinal's preferments should be divided among them. These were the secret methods of attaining that chair: and indeed it would puzzle a man of an ordinary degree of credulity to think, that one chosen by such means could be Christ's Vicar, and the infallible judge of controversies. But the Pope's recovery put an end to those intrigues, which yet were soon after revived, by a long and dangerous relapse. Then great pains was taken to gain many Cardinals to favour the King's cause; and many precedents were found of divorces, granted in favour of Princes, upon much slighter grounds. But the Imperialists were so strong at Rome, that they could not hope to prevail, if the Emperor was not first gained; so there was a secret negociation set on foot with him, but it had no other effect, save that it gave great jealousy both to the Pope and the King of France. Another dispatch was sent to Rome, to procure a commission, with fuller powers in it to the Legates, and a promise under the Pope's hand to confirm their sentence: the latter was granted, but the former was refused; for the Pope was resolved to go no further in that matter, though Wolsey wrote to Rome, that if justice were denied the King, not only England, but France likewise would withdraw their obedience from the Apostolic see; because by that it would be inferred, that the Emperor had such influence at Rome, as to oblige the Pupe to be partial or favourable as he pleased. At this time the Cardinal was cheapening his bulls for Winchester, which were rated at fifteen thousand ducats; but since it was a translation from Durham, so that a new composition would come in for that vacancy, he refused to pay above a third of what was demanded.

The Pope promised to confirm any sentence the Legates should give.

The Emperor's ambassador made a protestation at Rome, in the Queen's name, against the Legates,

BOOK I. 1529.

as partial in the King's favour, which the Pope received. Gardiner, that was a man of great craft, and could penetrate well into secrets, wrote to the King, assuring him, that he might expect nothing more from the Pope, who was resolved to offend neither the Emperor nor him; and therefore he advised him to get the Legates to give sentence with all possible haste; and then when it should come to the Emperor's turn to solicit the Pope for bulls against the King, the Pope would be as backward as he was now. He was so fearful, and under such irresolution, that he could be brought to do nothing with vigour. This Gardiner desired might not be shewn to the Cardinal; for he was now setting up for himself, and had a private correspondence with Anne Boleyn, who in one of her letters to him, as a token of special favour, sent him some cramp rings that the King had blessed, of which the office is extant; and Gardiner in one of his letters says, they were much esteemed for the virtue that was believed to be in them. In the promise which the Pope signed to confirm the sentence that should be given by the Legates, some clauses were put, by which he could easily be let loose from it; so he endeavoured to get another in fuller terms, by this artifice: He told the Pope, that the courier had met with an accident in passing a river, by which the promise was so spoiled with water, that it could not be made use of. But the Pope, instead of being catched with this to give a new one, seemed glad that it was spoiled, and positively refused to renew it. And a long and earnest letter, which the Legates wrote to the Pope, pressing him to end the matter roundly by a decretal bull, assuring him it was only scruple of conscience that wrought on the King, and no desire of a new wife, and that the whole nation was much offended with the delays of this matter, in which they were all so much concerned, wrought nothing on him; for he considered that as done by them only in compliance with the King, who thought he had entirely gained Campegio, and the scandals of his life were so public, that

BOOK I. 1529.

the motives of interest were likely to prevail on him more than any other: but by all the arts that were used, they were not able to over-reach the Pope; who, whatever he might be in his decisions, seemed infallible in his sagacity and jealousy. The Queen's agents pressed hard for an avocation; but the Pope was unwilling to grant that, till he had finished his treaty in all other points with the Emperor; and he began to complain much of the cold proceedings of the confederates, and that they exposed him so much, not only to the Emperor's mercy, but to the scorn of the Florentines: by this it was visible, he was seeking a colour for casting himself into the Emperor's arms. Great objections were made to the motion for an avocation: it was contrary to the King's prerogative to be cited to Rome; and it was said, he would seek justice of the Clergy of England, if the Pope denied it. It was also contrary to the promise under the Pope's hand, and his faith often given by word of mouth, chiefly of late by Campana, to recall the Legate's commission: but verbal promises did not bind the Pope much: they vanished into air; and Campana swore, that he had not made any; and for the written promise, there was a clause put in it, by which he could escape, so that he was at liberty from all engagements but those he had privately given in discourse, and to these he was no slave.

The process begun in England.

The Legates began the process in England, after the necessary preliminaries: the Queen appeared, and protested against them as incompetent judges: endeavours were used to terrify her into some compliance; it was given out, that some had intended to kill the King or the Cardinal, and that she had some hand in it; that she carried it very disobligingly to the King, and used many indecent arts to be popular; that the King was in danger of his life by her means, and so could no more keep her company neither in bed nor at board: but she was a woman of so resolute a mind, that no threatenings could daunt her. When both the King and she were together in the court, the Queen, instead

BOOK I. 1529.

of answering to the Legates, kneeled down before the King, and spake in a manner that raised compassion in all that were present: she said, she had been his wife these twenty years; had borne him several children, and had always studied to please him; therefore she desired to know wherein she had at any time offended him. As for their marriage, it was made by both their parents, who were esteemed wise Princes, and had, no doubt, good counsellors when their match was agreed on; but at present she neither had indifferent judges, nor could she expect that her lawyers, being his subjects, durst speak freely for her, and therefore she could not expect justice there; so she went out of the court, and would never return to it any more. Upon this the King gave her a great character for her extraordinary qualities, and protested, he was actuated by no other principle than that of conscience. He added, that Wolsey did not set him on this suit, but had opposed it long: that he first moved the matter in confession to the Bishop of Lincoln, and had desired the Archbishop of Canterbury to procure him the resolution of the Bishops of England in his case; and that they had all under their hands declared that his marriage was unlawful. The Bishop of Rochester denied he had signed it; but Warham pretended he gave him leave to make another write his name to it. Fisher denied this, and it was no way probable.

The Queen appeals to the Pope.

The Legates went on according to the forms of the law, though the Queen appealed from them to the Pope, and excepted both to the place, to the judges, and her lawyers: yet they pronounced her *contumax*, and went on to examine witnesses; chiefly, to that particular of the consummation of her marriage with Prince Arthur. But now since the process was thus going on, the Emperor's agents pressed the Pope vehemently for an avocation; and all possible endeavours were used by the King's agents to hinder it: they spared nothing that would work on the Pope, either in the way of persuasion or threatening: it was told him, that there was a

1529.

treaty set on foot between the King and the Lutheran Princes of Germany; and that, upon the Pope's declaring himself so partial, as to grant the avocation, he would certainly embark in the same interests with them. But the Pope thought the King was so far engaged in honour in the points of religion, that he would not be prevailed with to unite with Luther's followers; so he did not imagine, that the effects of his granting the avocation would be so dismal, as the Cardinal's creatures represented them: he thought it would probably ruin him, which might make his agents use such threatenings; and he did not much consider that, for he hated him in his heart. So in conclusion, after the Emperor had engaged to him to restore his family to the government of Florence, he resolved to publish his treaty with him: but that the granting the avocation might not look like (what indeed it was) a secret article, he resolved to begin with that; and with great signs of sorrow he told the English ambassadors, that he was forced to it; both because all the lawyers told him it could not be denied, and that he could not resist the Emperor's forces, which surrounded him on all hands. Their endeavours to gain a little time by delays were as fruitless as their other arts had been; for on the 15th of July the Pope signed it, and on the 19th he sent it by an express messenger to England.

The Pope grants an avocation.

The Legates, Campegio in particular, drew out the matter by all the delays they could contrive, and gained much time. At last, it being brought to that, that sentence was to be pronounced, Campegio, instead of doing it, adjourned the court till October, and said, that they being a part of the Consistory must observe their times of vacation. This gave the King and all his Court great offence, when they saw what was like to be the issue of a process, on which the King was so much bent, and in which he was so far engaged both in honour and interest. Campegio had nothing to lose in England but the bishopric of Salisbury, for which the Pope or Emperor could easily recompense him; but Wolsey was under all the terrors that an insolent

BOOK I. 1529.

favourite is liable to, upon a change in his fortune; none being more abject in misfortune, than those that are lifted up with success. When the avocation was brought to England, the King was willing that the Legates should declare their commission void, but would not suffer the letters citatory to be served, for he looked upon it as below his dignity to be cited to appear at Rome. The King governed himself upon this occasion with more temper than was expected: he dismissed Campegio civilly, only his officers searched his coffers, when he went beyond sea, with design, as was thought, to see if the decretal bull could be found. Wolsey was now upon the point of being disgraced, though the King seemed to treat him with the same confidence he had formerly put in him; it being ordinary for many Princes to hide their designs of disgracing their favourites with higher expressions of kindnesses than ordinary, till their ruin breaks out the more violently, because it is not foreseen.

Cranmer's rise.

At this time, Dr. Cranmer, a Fellow of Jesus College in Cambridge, meeting accidentally with Gardiner and Fox at Waltham, and being put on the discourse of the King's marriage, proposed a new method, which was that the King should engage the chief Universities and Divines of Europe to examine the lawfulness of his marriage; and if they gave their resolutions against it, then it being certain that the Pope's dispensation could not derogate from the law of God, the marriage must be declared null. This was new, and seemed reasonable; so they proposed it to the King, who was much taken with it, and said, *He had the sow by the right ear.* He saw this way was both better in itself, and would mortify the Pope extremely. So Cranmer was sent for, and did so behave himself, that the King conceived an high opinion both of his learning and prudence, and of his probity and sincerity, which took such root in the King's mind, that no artifices nor calumnies were ever able to remove it.

Wolsey is disgraced.

But as he was thus in his rise, so Wolsey did now decline. The Great Seal was taken from him, and

given to Sir Thomas More; and he was sued in a *præmunire*, for having held the Legatine courts by a foreign authority, contrary to the laws of England. He confessed the indictment, and pleaded ignorance, and submitted himself to the King's mercy; so judgment passed on him: then was his rich palace (now Whitehall) and royal furniture seized on to the King's use; yet the King received him again into his protection, and restored to him the temporalities of the sees of York and Winchester, and above six thousand pounds in plate and other goods: and there appeared still great and clear prints in the King's mind of that entire confidence to which he had received him; of which as his enemies were very apprehensive, so he himself was so much transported with the messages he had concerning it, that once he fell down on his knees in a kennel before them that brought them. Articles were put in against him in the House of Lords, it seems, for a bill of attainder, where he had but few friends; which all insolent favourites may expect in their disgrace. In the House of Commons, Cromwell, that had been his secretary, did so manage the matter, that it came to nothing. This failing, his enemies procured an order to be sent to him to go into Yorkshire. Thither he went in great state, with an hundred and sixty horses in his train, and seventy-two carts following him, and there he lived some time. But the King was informed that he was practising with the Pope and the Emperor: so the Earl of Northumberland was sent to arrest him of high treason, and bring him up to London. On the way he sickened, which different colours of wit may impute either to a greatness or meanness of mind, though the last be the truer. In conclusion, he died at Leicester, making great protestations of his constant fidelity to the King, particularly in the matter of his divorce: and he wished he had served God as faithfully as he had done the King; for then he would not have cast him off in his grey hairs, as the King had done. Words that declining favourites are apt to reflec-

His death.

BOOK I.

on, but they seldom remember them in the height of their fortune.

1529. The King thought it necessary to secure himself of the affections and confidences of his people, before he would venture on any thing that should displease two such mighty potentates as the Pope and the Emperor. So a Parliament was called; in it the Commons prepared several bills against some of the corruptions of the Clergy, particularly against plurality of benefices, and non-residents: abuses that even Popery itself could not but condemn! The Clergy abhorred the precedent of the Commons meddling in ecclesiastical matters; so Fisher spoke vehemently against him, and said, all this flowed from *lack of faith*.

A Parliament is called.

1530. Upon this the Commons complained of him to the King for reproaching them: the House of Peers either thought it no breach of privilege, or were willing to wink at it, for they did not interpose. Fisher was hated by the Court for adhering so firmly to the Queen's interests; so he was made to explain himself, and it was passed over.

The bills were much opposed by the Clergy; but in the end they were passed, and had the royal assent. In this long interval of Parliament the King had borrowed great sums of money; so the Parliament, both to discourage that way of supplying Kings for the future, and for ruining the Cardinal's creatures, who had been most forward to lend, as having the greatest advantages from the government, did by an act discharge the King of all those debts. The King granted a general pardon, with an exception of such as had incurred the pains of *præmunire*, by acknowledging a foreign jurisdiction, with design to terrify the Pope, and keep the Clergy under the lash. The King found it necessary to make all sure at home, for now were the Pope and the Emperor linked in the firmest friendship possible: the Pope's nephew was made Duke of Florence, and married the Emperor's natural daughter. A peace was also made between Francis and the Emperor; and the King found it not so easy to

The King's debts discharged.

BOOK I.

1530.

make him break with the Pope, upon his account, as he had expected. The Emperor went into Italy, and was crowned by the Pope; who, when the Emperor was kneeling down to kiss his foot, humbled himself so far as to draw it in, and kiss his cheek.

The Universities declare against the King's marriage.

But now the King, intending to proceed in the method proposed by Cranmer, sent to Oxford and Cambridge to procure their conclusions. At Oxford it was referred by the major part of the convocation to thirty-three Doctors and Bachelors of Divinity, whom that faculty was to name: they were empowered to determine the question, and put the seal of the University to their conclusion; and they gave their opinions, that the marriage of the brother's wife was contrary both to the laws of God and nature. At Cambridge the convocation was unwilling to refer it to a select number; yet it was, after some days practice, obtained, but with great difficulty, that it should be referred to twenty-nine; of which number, two-thirds agreeing, they were empowered to put the seal of the University to their determination. These agreed in opinion with those of Oxford. The jealousy that went of Dr. Cranmer's favouring Lutheranism made the fierce Popish party oppose every thing in which he was engaged. They were also afraid of Anne Boleyn's advancement, who was believed tinctured with those opinions. Crook, a learned man in the Greek tongue, was employed in Italy, to procure the resolution of Divines there; in which he was so successful, that, besides the great discoveries he made in searching the manuscripts of the Greek Fathers concerning their opinions in this point, he engaged several persons to write for the King's cause; and also got the Jews to give their opinions of the laws in Leviticus, that they were moral and obligatory: yet when a brother died without issue, his brother might marry his widow within Judea, for preserving their families and succession; but they thought that might not be done out of Judea. The State of

BOOK I.

1530.

Venice would not declare themselves, but said, they would be neutrals; and it was not easy to persuade the Divines of the Republic to give their opinions, till a brief was obtained of the Pope, permitting all Divines and Canonists to deliver their opinions according to their consciences; which was not granted but with great difficulty. Crook was not in a condition to corrupt any, for he complained in all his letters of the great want he was in; and he was in such ill terms with John Cassali, the King's ambassador at Venice, that he complained much of him to the King, and was in fear of being poisoned by him. The Pope abhorred this way of proceeding, though he could not decently oppose it; but he said in great scorn, that no friar should set limits to his power. Crook was ordered to give no money, nor make promises to any, till they had freely delivered their opinion; which, as he wrote, he had so carefully observed, that he offered to forfeit his head, if the contrary were found true. Fifteen or twenty crowns was all the reward he gave, even to those that wrote for the King's cause, and a few crowns he gave to some of those that subscribed: but the Emperor rewarded those that wrote against the divorce with good benefices; so little reason there was to ascribe the subscriptions Crook procured to corruption; the contrary of which appears by his original accounts yet extant. Besides many Divines and Canonists, not only whole houses of religious orders, but even the University of Bononia, though the Pope's town, declared, that the laws in Leviticus, about the degrees of marriage, were parts of the law of nature; and that the Pope could not dispense with them. The University of Padua determined the same; as also that of Ferrara. In all, Crook sent over to England an hundred several books and papers, with many subscriptions; all condemning the King's marriage, as unlawful in itself. At Paris, the Sorbonne made their determination with great solemnity: after a mass of the Holy Ghost, all the Doctors took an oath to study the question, and to give

The Sorbonne declares against the marriage.

1530.

their judgment according to their consciences; and after three weeks study, the greater part agreed to this, That the King's marriage was unlawful, and that the Pope could not dispense with it. At Orleans, Angers, and Thoulouse, they determined to the same purpose. Erasmus had a mind to live in quiet, and so he would not give his opinion, nor offend either party. Grineus was employed to try what Bucer, Zuinglius, and Œcolampadius thought of the marriage. Bucer's opinion was, that the laws in Leviticus did not bind, and were not moral; beecause God not only dispensed, but commanded them to marry their brother's wife, when he died without issue. Zuinglius and Œcolampadius were of another mind, and thought these laws were moral: but were of opinion, that the issue by a marriage *de facto*, grounded upon a received mistake, ought not to be illegitimated.

The opinion of the reformed Divines about it.

Calvin thought the marriage was null, and they all agreed that the Pope's dispensation was of no force. Osiander was employed to engage the Lutheran Divines; but they were afraid of giving the Emperor new grounds of displeasure.

Melancthon thought the law in Leviticus was dispensable, and that the marriage might be lawful; and that in those matters, states and princes might make what laws they pleased: and though the Divines of Leipsick, after much disputing about it, did agree, that these laws were moral, yet they could never be brought to justify the divorce, with the subsequent marriage that followed upon it, even after it was done, and that the King appeared very inclinable to receive their doctrine; so steadily did they follow their consciences, even against their interests: but the Pope was more compliant, for he offered to Cassali, to grant the King a dispensation for having another wife, with which the Imperialists seemed not dissatisfied.

Many of the nobility write to the Pope.

The King's cause being thus fortified by so many resolutions in his favour, he made many members of Parliament, in a prorogation time, sign a letter to the Pope, complaining, that notwithstanding the

BOOK I.

1530.

great merits of the King, the justice of his cause, and the importance of it to the safety of the kingdom, yet the Pope made still new delays; they therefore pressed him to dispatch it speedily, otherwise they would be forced to see for other remedies, though they were not willing to drive things to extremities, till it was unavoidable. The letter was signed by the Cardinal, the Archbishop of Canterbury, four other Bishops, twenty-two Abbots, forty-two Peers, and eleven Commoners. To this the Pope wrote an answer: He took notice of the vehemence of their style: he freed himself from the imputations of ingratitude and injustice: he acknowledged the King's great merits, and said, he had done all he could in his favour: he had granted a commission, but could not refuse to receive the Queen's appeal; all the Cardinals with one consent judged, that an avocation was necessary. Since that time, the delays lay not at his door, but at the King's: that he was ready to proceed, and would bring it to as speedy an issue as the importance of it would admit of; and for their threatenings, they were neither agreeable to their wisdom, nor their religion.

The Pope's answer.

November.

Things being now in such a posture, the King set out a proclamation against any that should purchase, bring over, or publish any bull from Rome, contrary to his authority: and after that he made an abstract of all the reasons and authorities of Fathers, or modern writers against his marriage, to be published, both in Latin and English.

The arguments for the divorce.

The main stress was laid on the laws in Leviticus, of the forbidden degrees of marriage; among which this was one, *Not to marry the brother's wife.* These marriages are called *abominations that defile the land;* and for which the Canaanites were cast out of it. The exposition of Scripture was to be taken from the tradition of the Church: and by the universal consent of all Doctors, those laws had been still looked on as moral, and ever binding to Christians, as well as Jews: therefore Gregory the Great advised Austin the Monk, upon the con-

BOOK I. — 1530.

version of the English, among whom the marriages of the brother's wife were usual, to dissolve them, looking on them as grievous sins. Many other Popes, as Calixtus, Zacharias, and Innocent the Third, had given their judgments for the perpetual obligation of those laws: they had been also condemned by the Councils of Neocesarea, Agde, and the second of Toledo. Among Wickliff's condemned opinions, this was one, that the prohibitions of marrying in such degrees were not founded on the law of God: for which he was condemned in some English Councils, and these were confirmed by the General Council at Constance. Among the Greek Fathers, both Origen, Basil, Chrysostom, and Hesychius; and among the Latins, Tertullian, Ambrose, Jerome, and St. Austin, do formally deliver this as the belief of the Church in their time, that those laws were moral, and still in force: Anselm, Hugo de sancto Victore, Hildebert, and Ivo, argue very fully to the same purpose; the last particularly, writing concerning the King of France, who had married his brother's wife, says, it was inconsistent with the law of God, with which none can dispense; and that he could not be admitted to the communion of the Church till he put her away. Aquinas and all the Schoolmen follow these authorities, and in their way of reasoning they argue fully for this opinion; and all that wrote against Wickliff did also assert the authority of these prohibitions: in particular, Waldensis, whose books were approved by Pope Martin the Fifth. All the Canonists did also agree with them, as Johannes Andreas, Panormitan, and Ostiensis: so that tradition being the only sure expounder of the Scripture, the case seemed clear. They also proved, that a consent without consummation made the marriage complete, which being a sacrament, that which followed after in the right of marriage was not necessary to make it complete; as a Priest saying mass consummates his [illegible]rs, which yet were complete without it. M[illegible]stimonies were brought to confirm this; from [illegible]nich it was inferred, that

BOOK I. 1530. the Queen's being married to Prince Arthur, though nothing had followed upon it, made her incapable of a lawful marriage with the King: and yet they shewed what violent presumptions there were of consummation, which was all that in such cases was sought for; and this was expressed both in the bull and breve, though but dubiously in the one, yet very positively in the other. After that they examined the validity of the Pope's dispensation. It was a received maxim, that though the Pope had authority to dispense with the laws of the Church, yet he could not dispense with the laws of God, which were not subject to him: and it had been judged in the Rota at Rome, when a dispensation was asked for a King to marry his wife's sister, that it could not be granted; and when precedents were alleged for it, it was answered, that the Church was to be governed by laws, and not by examples; and if any Pope had granted such dispensation, it was either out of ignorance or corruption. This was not only the opinion of the Schoolmen, but of the Canonists, though they were much set on raising the Pope's power as high as is possible; and therefore Alexander the Third refused to grant a dispensation in a like case, though the parent had sworn to make his son marry his brother's widow: others went farther, and said, the Pope could not dispense with the laws of the Church, which several ancient Popes had declared against; and it was said, that the fulness of power, with which the Pope was vested, did only extend to the pastoral care, and was not for destruction, but for edification; and that as St. Paul opposed St. Peter to his face, so had many Bishops withstood Popes, when they proceeded against the Canons of the Church. So both Laurence and Dunstan in England had proceeded to censures, notwithstanding the Pope's authority interposed to the contrary; and no authority being able to make what was a sin in itself become lawful, every man that found himself engaged in a sinful course of life ought to forsake it; and therefore the King ought to withdraw from the Queen; and the

Bishops of England, in case of refusal, ought to proceed to censures. Upon the whole matter, tradition was that upon which all the writers of controversy, particularly, now in the contests with the Lutherans, founded the doctrine of the Church, as being the only infallible exposition of the doubtful parts of Scripture; and that being so clear in this matter, there seemed to be no room for any further debate.

BOOK I.

1530.

Arguments against it.

On the other hand, Cajetan was the first writer that, against the stream of former ages, thought that the laws of Leviticus were only judiciary precepts, binding the Jews, and were not moral: his reasons were, that Adam's children must have married in the degrees there forbidden. Jacob married two sisters; and Judah, according to custom, gave his two sons, and promised a third, to the same woman. Moses also appointed the brother to marry the brother's wife when he died without issue. But a moral law is for ever, and in all cases binding; and it was also said, that the Pope's power reached even to the laws of God, for he dispensed with oaths and vows; and as he had the power of determining controversies, so he only could declare what laws were moral and indispensable, and what were not; nor could any Bishop pretend to judge concerning the extent of his power, or the validity of his bulls.

To all this, those that wrote for the King answered, that it was strange to see men, who pretended such zeal against Heretics, follow their method, which was to set up private reasonings, from some texts of Scripture, in opposition to the received tradition of the Church, which was the bottom in which all good Catholics thought themselves safe; and if Cajetan wrote in this manner against the received doctrine of the Church in one particular, why might not Luther take the same liberty in other points? They also made distinctions in moral laws, between those that were so from the nature of the thing which was indispensable, and could in no case be lawful; and to this sort no degrees, but

BOOK I.

1530. those of parents and children, could be reduced; other moral laws were only grounded upon public inconveniences and dishonesty, such as the other degrees were: for the familiarities, that persons so nearly related live in, are such, that unless a terror were struck in them, by a perpetual law against such mixtures, families would be much defiled: but in such laws, though God may grant a dispensation in some particular cases, yet an inferior authority cannot pretend to it: and some dispensations granted in the latter ages ought not to be set up to balance the decisions of so many Popes and Councils against them, and the doctrine taught by so many Fathers and Doctors in former times.

Both sides having thus brought forth the strength of their cause, it did evidently appear, that, according to the authority given to the tradition in the Church of Rome, the King had clearly the right on his side, and that the Pope's party did write with little sincerity in this matter, being guilty of that manner of arguing from texts of Scripture, for which they had so loudly charged the Lutherans.

The Queen continued firm to her resolution of leaving the matter in the Pope's hands, and therefore would hearken to no propositions that were made to her, for referring the matter to the arbitration of some chosen on both sides.

1531. A session of Parliament.

A session of Parliament followed in January, in which the King made the decisions of the Universities, and the books that were written for the divorce, be first read in the House of Lords, and then they were carried down by Sir Thomas More, and twelve Lords, both of the spirituality and temporality, to the Commons. There were twelve seals of Universities shewed, and their decisions were read, first in Latin, and then translated into English. There were also an hundred books shewed, written on the same argument. Upon the shewing these, the Chancellor desired them to report in their countries, that they now clearly saw, that the King had not attempted this matter of his mere will and

BOOK I.

1531.

pleasure, but for the discharge of his conscience, and the security of the succession of the Crown. This was also brought into the convocation, who declared themselves satisfied concerning the unlawfulness of the marriage: but the circumstances they were then in made that their declaration was not much considered; for they were then under the lash. All the Clergy of England were sued as in the case of a *præmunire*, for having acknowledged a foreign jurisdiction, and taken out bulls, and had suits in the Legatine court.

The laws of England against bulls from Rome.

The Kings of England did claim such a power in ecclesiastical matters, as the Roman Emperors had exercised before the fall of that empire: anciently they had by their authority divided bishoprics, granted the investitures, and made laws both relating to ecclesiastical causes and persons. When the Popes began to extend their power beyond the limits assigned them by the Canons, they met with great opposition in England, both in the matter of investitures, appeals, legates, and the other branches of their usurpations; but they managed all the advantages they found, either from the weakness, or ill circumstances of princes, so steadily, that in conclusion they subdued the world: and if they had not by their cruel exactions so oppressed the Clergy, that they were driven to seek shelter under the covert of the temporal authority, the world was then so over-mastered by superstition and credulity, that not only the whole spiritual power, but even the temporal power of princes, was likely to have fallen into the Pope's hands: but the discontented Clergy supported the secular power, as much as they had before advanced the Papal tyranny. Boniface the Eighth had raised his pretensions to that impudent pitch, that he declared all power, both ecclesiastical and civil, was derived from him, and established that as an article of faith necessary to salvation; and he and his successors took upon them to dispose of all ecclesiastical benefices, by their bulls and provisions. Upon which, laws were made in England, restraining those invasions on the Crown; 25 Ed. I

BOOK I. since those endowments were made for informing the people of the law of God, and for hospitality and acts of charity, which were defeated, as well

1531. as the Crown was disinherited by the provisions which the Pope granted. Therefore they condemned them for the future; but no punishment being declared for the transgressors of that fact, the courtiers at Rome were not frighted at so general a law; so these abuses were still continued: but in

15 Ed. III. Edward the Third's time a more severe law was made, by which all that transgressed were to be imprisoned, to be fined at pleasure, and to forfeit all their benefices. By another Act, they were put out of the King's protection. Several other confirmations of this were made, both in that reign, and under Richard the Second; and the former punishments were extended not only to the provisors themselves, but to all that were employed by them, or took farms of them; and because licences might be granted by the King for aliens, to hold benefices in England, he did bind himself to grant none: others took both presentations in England, and obtained provisions from Rome, which was likewise condemned. The right of presentations was tried, only in the King's courts; but the Popes had a mind to take the cognizance of that to their own courts; upon which, the Parliament considering the great prejudice the nation was like to suffer, and the subjection that the Crown would fall under, resolved to provide effectual remedies; so all the Com-

16 Ric. II. mons declared, they would live and die with the King, and desired him to examine all the Lords, whether they would uphold the regality of the Crown. The temporal Lords declared, they would do it: but the spiritual Lords made some difficulty; yet in conclusion, they also promised they would adhere to the Crown: so a law passed, that if any purchased translations, excommunications, or bulls from Rome, that were contrary to the King, or his crown, they, and all that brought them over, or that received or executed them, were declared to be out of the King's protection, and that their goods

and chattels should be forfeited to the King, and their persons imprisoned. And because the proceedings upon this were by a writ called, from the most material words of it, *præmunire facias*, this statute carried the name of the statute of *præmunire*. There was also a law past in Henry the Fourth's reign, against some bulls which the Cistertians had procured, and against the high rates set on bulls in the Apostolic Chamber; and whereas the King had been prevailed with to give licences for some bulls, by which the provisors put the incumbents out of their benefices; these were all declared to be of no force, when done in prejudice of the subject's rights. The invasions, that both the Popes and Kings made upon elections, were by another law condemned, and the liberty of elections was again set up. But those Kings being more concerned to preserve their own prerogative, than the rights of the people, were often prevailed with to grant pardons and licences to those who obtained provisions at Rome; so these were all again condemned in Henry the Fifth's time. 1531.

In all this time, the weakness of the Papacy gave princes some advantages, which they had not in former ages. For a great while the Popes sate at Avignon, where they were much eclipsed of their former greatness: after that a schism followed between the Popes that sate at Rome, and those that still sate at Avignon: and the Princes of Christendom, being then at liberty to choose which of those they would acknowledge, the Popes durst not thunder against those laws, as they had done in former times, upon much less provocation. And indeed all the use the Kings made of them was, to oblige the provisors to come and depend on them for their licence to execute their bulls; and the King's authority being joined with the Pope's, it was hard for those who were oppressed to resist that double force: nor was there any vigorous execution made of those laws, otherwise than to draw money from the provisors: for it fell out in this case, what is ordinary on all such occasions, 4 Hen. V.

BOOK I.

1531.

that favourites make use of good laws; by which power is trusted to the Prince, for the protection and security of the subjects, only for their own ends. It was a strange weakness in the Princes of Christendom, to take such pains, as was done at Constance, for healing the breach in the Papacy; for while that continued, they reigned in peace, and the Clergy was less oppressed than formerly: but that being once made up, the Popes were beginning again to raise their old pretensions: and Pope Martin the Fifth not being willing to engage with so high spirited a King as Henry the Fifth

6 Hen. VI. was, he took advantage, in the minority of Henry the Sixth's reign, to propose a repeal of those laws, and first wrote very severely to Chichele, then Archbishop of Canterbury, for not opposing the statute of provisors that had passed in the former reign, nor standing up for the rights of St. Peter: he therefore exhorted him to imitate his predecessor, Thomas Becket; and required him to declare at the next parliament the unlawfulness of it; and that all who obeyed it were under excommunication: he also required him to order the Clergy to preach every where against it. Yet Chichele did not proceed so zealously as the Pope expected, and therefore he suspended his legatine power. The Archbishop appealed upon this, from the Pope, to the next General Council, or, if none met, to the tribunal of God: but the Pope wrote also to the Clergy, requiring them to do what in them lay, for the repeal of the statute: and in another letter to the two Archbishops, in which, in spite to Chichele, York is first named, he annulled the statutes made by Edward the Third, and Richard the Second; and declared all to be excommunicated that executed them, reserving the absolution of them to himself, unless they were at the point of death: and he required them to publish, and affix this his monitory brief. The Archbishop humbled himself to the Pope; and got the other Bishops, and the University of Oxford, to write in his favour to him; which they did according to the

flattering and vain style of that age. In his own letter, he says, he had not opened the Pope's brief, and so did not know what it contained; being required by the King to bring it to him with the seals entire. The Pope wrote also both to the King and Parliament, requiring them, under the pains of excommunication and damnation, to repeal those statutes. Upon the meeting of the next parliament, the Archbishop, accompanied by several Bishops and Abbots, went to the House of Commons, and made them a long speech, in the form of a sermon, upon that text, *Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's;* and exhorted them to repeal those laws against the Pope's power, in granting provisors; and with tears laid out the mischiefs that would follow, if the Pope should proceed to censures. But the Commons would not repeal those laws; yet they were left as dead letters among the records, for no care was taken to execute them. The Pope was so far satisfied with Chichele's behaviour, that he received him again to favour, and restored to him the legatine power. This being hitherto mentioned by none of our writers, it seemed no impertinent digression to give this account of it.

1531.

1427.

The Clergy sued in a *præmunire.*

Now were those long forgotten statutes revived, to bring the Clergy into a snare: it was designed by the terror of this, to force them into an entire submission; and to oblige them to redeem themselves by the grant of a considerable subsidy. They pretended they had erred ignorantly; for the King, by his favour to the Cardinal, seemed to consent, if not to encourage that authority which he then exercised: it was a public error, and so they ought not to be punished for it. To all this it was answered, that the laws which they had transgressed were still in force, and so no ignorance could excuse the violation of them. The convocation of Canterbury made their submission, and in their address to the King, he was called, *The Protector and supreme Head of the Church of England;* but some excepting to that, it was added, *in so far as it is agreeable*

BOOK I.

1531.

to the law of Christ. This was signed by nine Bishops, fifty Abbots and Priors, and the greatest part of the lower House; and with it they offered the King a subsidy, to procure his favour, of an hundred thousand pounds, and they promised for the future not to make nor execute any constitutions without his licence. The convocation of York did not pass this so easily; they excepted to the word *Head*, as agreeing to none but Christ: yet the King wrote them a long expostulating letter, and told them, with what limitations those of Canterbury had passed that title; upon which they also submitted, and offered him eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty pounds, which was also well received; and so all the Clergy were again received into the King's protection, and pardoned. But when the King's pardon was brought into the Parliament, the laity complained, that they were not included within it; for many of them were also obnoxious on the same account, in some measure, having had suits in the Legatine court; and they did apprehend, that they might be brought in trouble: and therefore they addressed to the King, and desired to be comprehended within it: but the King told them, his mercy was neither to be restrained, nor forced. This put the House of Commons in great trouble; but they passed the act; and soon after, the King sent a pardon to all his temporal subjects, which was received with great joy; and they acknowledged, that the King had tempered his greatness with his clemency, in his way of proceeding in this matter.

A poisoner condemned of treason.

In this session, one Rouse, that had poisoned a great pot of porridge in the Bishop of Rochester's kitchen, of which two had died, and many had been brought near death, was attainted of treason, and condemned to be boiled to death; and that was made the punishment of poisoning in time to come. By this act the Parliament made a crime to be treason that was not so before, and punished the person accordingly, which was founded on the power reserved in the twenty-fifth of Edward the

BOOK I.

1531.

Third to Parliaments, to declare in time coming what crimes were treason. This severe sentence was executed in Smithfield, Rouse accusing none as his accomplices, though malicious persons did afterwards impute that action of his to a design of Anne Boleyn upon Fisher's life; but his silence under so terrible a condemnation shewed he could not charge others with it.

The King departs from the Queen.

After the sessions of Parliament, new applications were made to the Queen, to persuade her to depart from her appeal; but she remained fixed in her resolution, and said she was the King's lawful wife, and would abide by it till the Court of Rome should declare the contrary. Upon that, the King desired her to choose any of his houses in the country to live in, and resolved never to see her more.

A tumult among the Clergy.

The Clergy were now raising the subsidy, and the Bishops intended to make the inferior Clergy pay their share. But upon the Bishop of London's calling some few of them together, on whom he hoped to prevail, and make them set a good example to the rest, all the Clergy hearing of it, came to the Chapter-house, and forced their way in, though the Bishop's officers did what they could by violence to keep them out. The Bishop made a speech, setting forth the King's clemency, in accepting such a subsidy instead of all their benefices, which they had forfeited to him, and therefore desired them to bear their share in it patiently. They answered, that they had not meddled with the Cardinal's faculties, nor needed they the King's pardon, not having transgressed his laws; and therefore since the Bishops and Abbots only were in fault, it was reasonable that they only should raise the subsidy. Upon this, the Bishop's officers and they came to very high words, and it ended in blows: but the Bishop quieted them all he could with good words, and dismissed them with a promise, that none should be brought into question for what had been then done; yet he complained

BOOK I.

to More of it, and he put many of them in prison: but the thing was let fall.

1532. The Pope turns to the interest of France.

This year produced a new breach between the Pope and the Emperor: the Pope pretended to Modena and Regio, as fiefs of the Papacy; but the Emperor judged against him for the Duke of Ferrara. Upon this the Pope resolved to unite himself to the Crown of France; and Francis, to gain him more entirely, proposed a match between his second son Henry, and the Pope's niece, the famous Catherine de Medici; which as it wrought much on the Pope's ambition, so it was like to prove a great support to his family. Francis also offered to resign all his pretensions in Italy to his son Henry, which was like to draw in other Princes to a league with him, who would have been much better pleased to see a King's younger son among them, than either the Emperor or the King of France. The King's matter was now in a fairer way of being adjusted; for the Pope's conscience being directed by his interests, since he had now broken with the Emperor, it was probable he would give the King content. He saw the danger of losing England. The interest of the Clergy was much sunk, and they were in a great measure subjected to the Crown. Lutheranism was also making a great progress, and the Pope was out of any danger from the Emperor, on whom the whole power of the Turkish empire was now fallen, drawn in, as was believed, by the practices of Francis at the Porte, though that did not well agree with his title of *Most Christian King*. The Princes of Germany took advantage from this, to make the Emperor consent to some farther liberty in matters of religion; and, to secure themselves, they were then also entered into a league with Francis, for preserving the rights of the empire, unto which King Henry was invited. All this raised Francis again very high; so he was the fittest person to mediate an agreement between the King and the Pope; and being himself a lover of pleasure, he was the

more easily engaged to serve the King in the accomplishment of his amours.

1532.

A misunderstanding between the King and the House of Commons.

A new session of Parliament was held, in which the laity complained of the spiritual courts, of their way of proceeding *ex officio*, and not admitting persons accused to their purgation. But this was not much considered, by reason of an ill understanding that fell in between the King and the House of Commons. There was a custom brought in of making such settlements of estates, that the heir was not liable to wards, and the other advantages to which the King or the great Lords had otherwise a right by their tenures: so a bill for regulating that was sent down by the Lords; but the Commons rejected it, which gave the King great offence; upon that they addressed to the King for a dissolution, since they had been now obliged to a long attendance. The King answered them sharply: he said, they had rejected a bill, in which he had offered a great abatement of that which he might claim by law; and therefore he would execute the law in its utmost severity. He told them he had patience while his suit was in dependence, and so they must have likewise. For this Parliament was made up of men very ill affected to the Clergy, so the King kept it still in being, to terrify the Court of Rome so much the more.

An act against Annats.

All that was remarkable that passed in this session was an act against Annats; it sets forth, that they were founded on no law; they were first exacted to defend Christendom against Infidels, and were now kept up as a revenue to the Papacy, and bulls were not granted till they were compounded for; for eight hundred thousand ducats had been carried out of England to Rome on that account, since the beginning of the former reign. The King was bound by his royal care of his subjects to hinder such oppressions; and therefore all that were provided with great benefices, were required not to pay first-fruits for the future, under the pain of forfeiting all their goods, and the profits of their benefices; and those that were presented

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BOOK I. 1532. to bishoprics were appointed to be consecrated, though their bulls were denied at Rome, and they were required to pay no more but *5 per cent.* of the clear profits of their sees. If the Pope should upon this proceed to censures, they required all the Clergy to perform divine offices, these notwithstanding. But, by an extraordinary proviso, they referred it to the King to declare at any time between that and Easter next, whether this act shall take place or not: and the King by his letters patent declared, that it should take place, being provoked by the Pope.

The Pope writes to the King.

In January the Pope, upon the motion of the Imperialists, wrote to the King, complaining, that notwithstanding a suit was depending concerning his marriage, yet he had put away his Queen, and kept one Anne as his wife, contrary to a prohibition served on him; therefore he exhorted him to live with his Queen again, and to put Anne away. Upon this the King sent Dr. Bennet to Rome with a large dispatch; in it he complained that the Pope proceeded in that matter upon the suggestion of others, who were ignorant and rash men: the Pope had carried himself inconstantly and deceitfully in it, and not as became Christ's Vicar; and the King had now for several years expected a remedy from him in vain. The Pope had granted a commission, had promised never to recall it, and had sent over a decretal bull defining the cause. Either these were unjustly granted, or unjustly recalled. If he had the authority to grant these things, where was the faith which became a friend, much more a Pope, since he had recalled them? If he had not authority to grant them, he did not know how far he could consider any thing he did. It was plain that he acted more with regard to his interests, than according to conscience; and that as the Pope had often confessed his own ignorance in these matters, so he was not furnished with learned men to advise him, otherwise he would not maintain a marriage which almost all the learned men and Universities in England, France, and

1532.

Italy, had condemned as unlawful. He desired the Pope would excuse the freedom he used, to which his carriage had forced him. He would not question his authority, unless he were compelled to it, and would do nothing but reduce it to its first and ancient limits, which was much better than to let it run on headlong, and still do amiss. This high letter made the Pope resolve to proceed and end this matter, either by a sentence or a treaty. The King was cited to answer to the Queen's appeal at Rome in person, or by proxy; so Sir Edward Karne was sent thither in the new character of the King's Excusator, to excuse the King's appearance, upon such grounds as could be founded on the Canon Law, and upon the privileges of the Crown of England. Bonner, that was a forward and ambitious man, and would stick at nothing that might contribute to his preferment, was sent over with him. The Imperialists pressed the Pope much to give sentence; but all the wise Cardinals, who observed by the proceedings of the Parliament, that the nation would adhere to the King, if he should be provoked to shake off the Pope's yoke, were very apprehensive of a breach, and suggested milder counsels to the Pope; and the King's agents assured him, that if he gave the King content, the late act against Annats should not be put in execution.

The King cited to Rome, excuses himself.

The Cardinal of Ravenna was then considered as an oracle for learning in the Consistory; so the King's agents resolved to gain him with great promises: but he said, princes were liberal of their promises till their turn was served, and then forgot them; so he resolved to make sure work; therefore he made Bennet give him a promise in writing of the bishopric of Ely, or the first bishopric that fell till that was vacant; and Bennet also engaged that the King should procure him benefices in France to the value of six thousand ducats a year, for the service he should do him in his divorce. This was an argument of so great efficacy with the Cardinal, that it absolutely turned him

Some Cardinals corrupted.

BOOK I. 1532.

from being a great enemy, to be as great a promoter of the King's cause, though very artificially. Several other Cardinals were also prevailed with by the same topics. The King's agents put in his plea of excuse in twenty-eight articles, and it was ordered, that three of them should be discussed at a hearing before the Consistory, till they should be all examined: but that court sitting once a week, the Imperialists, after some of them were heard, procured an order, that the rest should be heard in a congregation or committee of Cardinals before the Pope, for greater dispatch: but Karne refused to obey this, and so it was referred back to the Consistory. But against this the Imperialists protested, and refused to appear any more. News was brought to Rome from England, that a priest, that had preached up the Pope's power, was cast into prison; and that one, committed by the Archbishop for heresy, appealed to the King as supreme head, which was received and judged in the King's courts. The Pope made great complaints upon this: but the King's agents said, the best way to prevent the like for the future, was to do the King justice. At this time a bull was granted for suppressing some monasteries, and erecting new bishoprics out of them. Chester was to be one, and the Cardinal of Ravenna was so pleased with the revenue designed for it, that he laid his hand upon it, till Ely should happen to fall vacant. In conclusion, the Pope seemed to favour the King's plea excusatory, upon which the Imperialists made great complaints. But this amounted to no more, save that the King was not bound to appear in person: therefore the Cardinals that were gained, advised the King to send over a proxy for answering to the merits of the cause, and not to lose more time in that dilatory plea; and they having declared themselves against the King in that plea, before the bargain had been made with them, could with the better credit serve him in the other. So the vacation coming on, it was resolved by the Cardinals neither to admit nor reject the plea. But

1532.

both the Pope and the College wrote to the King to send over a proxy for determining the matter next winter. Bonner was also sent to England to assure the King, that the Pope was now so much in the French interest, that he might confidently refer his matter to him; but whereas the King desired a commission to judge (*in partibus*) upon the place: it was said, that the point to be judged being the Pope's authority to dispense with the King's marriage, that could not be referred to Legates, but must needs be judged in the Consistory.

A session of Parliament.

At this time a new session of Parliament was called in England. The Clergy gave in an answer to the complaints made of them by the Commons in the former sessions: but when the King gave it to the Speaker, he complained that one Temse, a member of their House, had moved for an address to the King, that the Queen might be again brought back to the Court. The King said, it touched his conscience, and was not a thing that could be determined in that House. He wished his marriage were good, but many Divines had declared it unlawful. He did not make his suit out of lust or foolish appetite, being then past the heats of youth; he assured them, his conscience was troubled, and desired them to report that to the House. Many of the Lords came down to the House of Commons, and told them, the King intended to build some forts on the borders of Scotland, to secure the nation from the inroads of the Scots; and the Lords approving of this, sent them to propose it to the Commons, upon which a subsidy was voted; but upon the breaking out of the plague, the Parliament was prorogued, before the act was finished. At that time the King sent for the Speaker of the House of Commons, and told him, he found that the Prelates were but half subjects; for they swore at their consecration an oath to the Pope, that was inconsistent with their allegiance and oath to the King. By their oath to the Pope, they swore to be in no council against him, nor to disclose his secrets; but to maintain the Papacy and the rega-

The oaths which the Bishops

BOOK I.

1533.

lities of St. Peter against all men; together with the rights and authorities of the Church of Rome; and that they should honourably entreat the Legates of the Apostolic see, and observe all the decrees, sentences, provisions, and commandments of that see; and yearly, either in person or by proxy, visit the thresholds of the Apostles. In their oath to the King, they renounced all clauses in their bulls contrary to the King's royal dignity, and did swear to be faithful to him, and to live and die with him against all others, and to keep his counsel; acknowledging that they held their bishoprics only of him. By these it appeared that they could not keep both those oaths, in case a breach should fall out between the King and the Pope. But the plague broke off the consultations of Parliament at this time. Soon after, Sir Thomas More, seeing a rupture with Rome coming on so fast, desired leave to lay down his office, which was upon that conferred on Sir Thomas Audley. More was satisfied with the King's keeping up the laws formerly made in opposition to the Papal encroachments, and so had concurred in the suit of *præmunire*; but now the matter went further, and so he not being able to keep peace with the Councils, retired to a private life, with a greatness of mind equal to what the ancient Greeks or Romans had expressed on such occasions. Endeavours were used to fasten some imputations on him, in the distribution of justice; but nothing could be brought against him to blemish his integrity.

Swore both to the Pope and the King.

More quits his office.

An interview between the Kings of France and England.

An interview followed between the Kings of France and England; to which Anne Boleyn, now Marchioness of Pembroke, was carried; in which, after the first ceremonies and magnificence was over, Francis promised Henry to second him in his suit. He encouraged him to proceed to a second marriage without more ado; and assured him, he would stand by him in it: and told him, he intended to restrain the payment of Annats to Rome; and would ask of the Pope a redress of that and other grievances; and if it was denied, he would seek other remedies

BOOK I.

1533.

in a provincial Council. An interview was proposed between the Pope and him; to which he desired the King to go with him, and the King was not unwilling to it, if he could have assurance, that his business would be finally determined. The Pope offered to the King, to send a Legate to any indifferent place out of England, to form the process, reserving only the giving sentence to himself; and proposed to him, and all Princes, a general truce, that so he might call a General Council. The King answered, that such was the present state of the affairs of Europe, that it was not seasonable to call a General Council; that it was contrary to his prerogative to send a proxy to appear at Rome; that, by the decrees of General Councils, all causes ought to be judged on the place, and by a provincial Council; and that it was fitter to judge it in England, than any where else; and that by his coronation-oath he was bound to maintain the dignities of his crown, and the rights of his subjects, and not to appear before any foreign court. So Sir Thomas Elliot was sent over with instructions, to move, that the cause might be judged in England: yet if the Pope had real intentions of giving the King full satisfaction, he was not to insist on that: and to make the Cardinal of Ravenna sure, he sent him the offer of the bishopric of Coventry and Litchfield, then vacant. Soon after this, the King married Anne Boleyn; Rowland Lee (afterwards Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield) did officiate, none being present but the Duke of Norfolk, and her father, her mother, and her brother, and Cranmer. It was thought, that the former marriage being null of itself, the King might proceed to another. And perhaps they hoped, that as the Pope had formerly proposed this method, so he would now approve of it. But though the Pope had joined himself to France, yet he was still so much in fear of the Emperor, that he resolved not to provoke him; and so was not wrought on by any of the expedients which Bennet proposed, which were either to judge the cause in England,

Nov. 14, the King marries Anne Boleyn.

BOOK I. 1533.

according to the Council of Nice; or to refer it to the arbitration of some, to be named by the King, and the King of France, and the Pope: for all these, he said, tended to the diminution of the Papal power. A new citation was issued out, for the King to answer to the Queen's complaints; but the King's agents protested, that he was a sovereign Prince; that England was a free Church, over which the Pope had no just authority; and that the King could expect no justice at Rome, where the Emperor's power was so great.

The Parliament condemns appeals to Rome.

At this time the Parliament met again, and passed an act, condemning all appeals to Rome: in it they set forth, "that the crown was imperial, "and that the nation was a complete body, having "full power to do justice in all cases, both spiritual "and temporal: and, that as former Kings had "maintained the liberties of the kingdom against "the usurpations of the see of Rome; so they "found the great inconveniences of allowing ap- "peals in matrimonial causes; that they put them "to great charges, and occasioned many delays: "therefore they enacted, that thereafter those "should be all judged within the kingdom, and no "regard should be had to any appeals to Rome, or "censures from it: but sentences given in Eng- "land were to have their full effect; and all that "executed any censures from Rome were to incur "the pains of *præmunire*. Appeals were to be "from the Archdeacon to the Bishop, and from "him to the Archbishop: and in the causes that "concerned the King, the appeal was to be to the "Upper House of Convocation."

Cranmer made Archbishop of Canterbury.

There was now a new Archbishop of Canterbury; Warham died the former year: he was a great patron of learning, a good canonist, and wise statesman; but was a cruel persecutor of heretics, and inclined to believe fanatical stories. Cranmer was then in Germany, disputing in the King's cause with some of the Emperor's Divines. The King resolved to advance him to that dignity, and sent him word of it, that so he might make haste over:

BOOK I. 1533.

but a promotion so far above his thoughts had not its common effects on him: he had a true and primitive sense of so great a charge; and, instead of aspiring to it, he was afraid of it, and he both returned very slowly to England, and used all his endeavours to be excused from that advancement: but his declining of preferment, being a thing of which the Clergy of that age were so little guilty, discovered that he had maxims very far different from most Churchmen. Bulls were sent for to Rome, in order to his consecration, which the Pope granted, though it could not be very grateful to him, to send them to one who had so publicly disputed against his power of dispensing; all the composition that was paid for them was but nine hundred ducats, which was perhaps according to the regulation made in the act against Annats. There were eleven several bulls sent over, one confirming the King's nomination; a second, requiring him to accept it; a third, absolving him from censures; a fourth, to the suffragan Bishops; a fifth, to the Dean and Chapter; a sixth, to the Clergy; a seventh, to the laity; an eighth, to the tenants of the see, requiring all these to receive him to be their Archbishop; a ninth, requiring some Bishops to consecrate him; the tenth gave him the pall; and by the eleventh, the Archbishop of York was required to put it on him. The putting of all this in so many different bulls was a good contrivance for raising the rents of the Apostolic chamber. On the 30th of March, Cranmer was consecrated by the Bishops of Lincoln, Exeter, and St. Asaph. The oath to the Pope was of hard digestion: so he made a protestation before he took it, that he conceived himself not bound up by it in any thing that was contrary to his duty to God, to his King, or country; and he repeated this when he took it; so that if this seemed too artificial for a man of his sincerity, yet he acted in it fairly, and above board.

Longland, Voysei, Standish.

The Convocation had then two questions before them; the first was, concerning the lawfulness of

The Convocation

BOOK I.

1533.

condemns the King's marriage.

the King's marriage, and the validity of the Pope's dispensation; the other was, of matter of fact, whether Prince Arthur had consummated the marriage, or not. For the first, the judgments of nineteen Universities were read; and after a long debate, there being twenty-three only in the Lower House, fourteen were against the marriage, and seven for it, and two voted dubiously. In the Upper House, Stokesly, Bishop of London, and Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, maintained the debate long: the one for the affirmative, and the other the negative: at last it was carried, *nemine contradicente*, (the few that were of the other side, it seems, withdrawing,) against the marriage, two hundred and sixteen being present. For the other, that concerned matter of fact, it was referred to the Canonists; and they all, except five or six, reported, that the presumptions were violent; and these in a matter not capable of plain proof were always received in law. The small number in the Lower, and the far greater number in the Upper House of Convocation, makes it probable, that then not only Bishops, but all Abbots, Priors, Deans, and Archdeacons, sate in the Upper House, for they were all called Prelates, and had their writs to sit in a General Council, as appears by the records of the fourth Council in the Lateran, and the Council of Vienna, and so they might well sit in the Upper House: and perhaps the two Houses of Convocation were taken from the pattern of the two Houses of Parliament, and so none might sit in the Lower House, but such as were chosen to represent the inferior Clergy. The books of convocation are now lost, having perished in the fire of London; but the author of *Antiquitates Britannicæ*, who lived in that time, is of that great credit, that we may well depend upon his testimony.

Cranmer gives the final sentence.

The Convocation having thus judged in the matter, the ceremony of pronouncing the divorce judicially was now only wanting. The new Queen began to have a big belly, which was a great evi-

BOOK I.

1533.

dence of her living chastely before that with the King. On Easter-Eve she was declared Queen of England; and soon after, Cranmer, with Gardiner, (who was made, upon Wolsey's death, Bishop of Winchester,) and the Bishops of London, Lincoln, Bath and Wells, with many Divines and Canonists, went to Dunstable; Queen Catharine living then near it, at Ampthil. The King and Queen were cited; he appeared by proxy, but the Queen refused to take any notice of the court: so, after three citations, she was declared *contumax*, and all the merits of the cause formerly mentioned were examined. At last, on the 23d of May, sentence was given, declaring the marriage to have been null from the beginning. Among the Archbishop's titles in the beginning of the judgment, he is called, *Legate of the Apostolic See*, which perhaps was added to give it the more force in law. Some days after this, he gave another judgment, confirming the King's marriage with Queen Anne; and on the first of June she was crowned Queen. This was variously censured. It was said, that in the intervals of a General Council, the asking the opinions of so many universities, and learned men, was the only sure way to find out the tradition of the Church: and a provincial Council had sufficient authority to judge in this case: yet many thought the sentence dissolving the first marriage should have preceded the second; and it being contracted before the first was legally annulled, there was great colour given to question the validity of it. But it was answered, that since the first was judged null of itself, there was no need of a sentence declaratory, but only for form: yet it was thought, either there ought to have been no sentence passed at all, or it should have been before the second marriage. Some objected, that Cranmer, having appeared so much against the marriage, was no competent judge; but it was said, that as Popes are not bound by the opinions they held when they were private men; so he, having changed his character, could not be challenged on that account,

Stokesly, Longland, Clerk.

Censures passed upon it.

BOOK I.

1533.

but might give sentence as judges decide causes, in which they formerly gave counsel: and indeed the Convocation had judged the cause, he only gave sentence in form of law. The world wondered at the Pope's stiffness; but he often confessed, he understood not those matters, only he was afraid of provoking the Emperor; or of giving the Lutherans advantage to say, that one Pope condemned that which another had dispensed. All people admired Queen Anne's conduct, who in a course of so many years managed a King's spirit, that was so violent, in such a manner, as neither to surfeit him with too many favours, nor to provoke him with too much rigour; and her being so soon with child gave hopes of a numerous issue: they that loved the Reformation looked for better days under her protection; but many Priests and Friars, both in sermons and discourses, condemned the King's proceedings. The King sent ambassadors to all Courts, to justify what he had done: he sent also some to Queen Catharine, to charge her to assume no other title, but that of Princess Dowager; and to give her hopes of putting her daughter next in the succession to the crown, after his issue by the present Queen, if she would submit herself to his will. But she would not yield. She said, she would not take that infamy on herself; and so resolved, that none should serve about her, that did not treat her as Queen. All her servants adhered so to her interest, that no threatenings nor promises could work on them: and the stir which the King kept in this matter was thought below his greatness, and seemed to be set on by a woman's resentments; for since she was deprived of the majesty of a crown, the pageantry of a title was not worth the noise that was made about it. The Emperor seemed big with resentments. The French King was colder than the King expected; yet he promised to intercede with the Pope and the Cardinals on his account: but he was now so entirely gained by the Pope, that he resolved not to involve himself in the King's

quarrel as a party: and he also gave over the designs he once had of setting up a patriarch in France; for the Pope granted him so great a power over his own Clergy, that he could not desire more. With this the Emperor was not a little pleased; for this was like to separate those two Kings, whose conjunction had been so hurtful to him.

BOOK I.

1533.

At Rome the Cardinals of the imperial faction complained much of the attempt made on the Pope's power; since a sentence was given in England in a process depending at Rome; so they pressed the Pope to proceed to censures. But, instead of putting the matter past reconciling, there was only sentence given, annulling all that the Archbishop of Canterbury had done; and the King was required, under the pain of excommunication, to put things again in the state in which they were formerly; and this was affixed at Dunkirk. The King sent a great embassy to Francis, who was then setting out to Marseilles, where the Pope was to meet him: their errand was to dissuade him from the journey, unless the Pope would promise to give the King satisfaction. The King of France said, he was engaged in honour to go on; but assured them, he would mind the King's concerns with as much zeal, as if they were his own.

The proceedings at Rome upon it.

In September the Queen brought forth a daughter, the renowned Queen Elizabeth; and the King having before declared Lady Mary Princess of Wales, did now the same for her: though since a son might put her from it, she could not be heir apparent, but only the heir presumptive to the crown. At Marseilles the marriage was made up between the Duke of Orleans and the Pope's niece, to whom the Pope gave, besides one hundred thousand crowns, many principalities, which he pretended were either fiefs of the Papacy, or belonged to him in the rights of the House of Medici. The Pope's historian, with some triumph, boasted, that the marriage was consummated that very night: though it was thought not credible, that Prince Arthur, that was nine months older than

Sept. 7. Queen Elizabeth born.

BOOK I.

the now Duke of Orleans, aftewards Henry the Second, did consummate his.

1533. The Pope promises to satisfy King Henry.

There was a secret agreement made between the Pope and Francis, that if King Henry would refer his cause to the Consistory, excepting only to the Cardinals of the imperial faction, as partial, and would in all other things return to his obedience to the see of Rome, then sentence should be given in his favour; but this was to be kept secret: so Bonner not being trusted with it, and sent thither with an appeal from the Pope to the next General Council, made it with great boldness, and threatened the Pope upon it with so much vehemence, that the Pope talked of throwing him into a cauldron of melted lead, or burning him alive: and he apprehending some danger, fled away privately. But when Francis came back to Paris, he sent over the Bishop of that city to the King, to let him know what he had obtained of the Pope in his favour, and the terms on which it was promised. This wrought so much on the King, that he presently consented to them. And upon that, the Bishop of Paris, though it was now in the middle of winter, took journey to Rome, being sure of the scarlet, if he could be the instrument of regaining England, which was then upon the point of being lost. What these assurances were which the Pope gave is not certain; but the Archbishop of York, and Tonstal of Durham, in a letter which they wrote on that occasion, say, that the Pope said at Marseilles, *That if the King would send a proxy to Rome, he would give sentence for him against the Queen, for he knew his cause was good and just.* Upon the Bishop of Paris's coming to Rome, the matter seemed agreed; or it was promised, that upon the King's sending a promise under his hand, to put things in their former state, and his ordering a proxy to appear for him, judges should be sent to Cambray for making the process, and then sentence should be given. Upon the notice given of this, and of a day that was prefixed for the return of the courier, the King dispatched him with all

BOOK I.

1533.

possible haste; and now the business seemed at an end. But the courier had a sea and the Alps to pass, and in winter it was not easy to observe a limited day so exactly: this made that he came not to Rome on the prefixed day; upon which, the Imperialists gave out, that the King was abusing the Pope's easiness; so they pressed him vehemently to proceed to a sentence. The Bishop of Paris moved only for a delay of six days, which was no unreasonable time in that season, and in favour of such a King, who had a suit depending six years; and since he had patience so many years, the delay of a few days was no extraordinary favour. But the design of the Imperialists was, to hinder a reconciliation; for if the King had been set right with the Pope, there would have been so powerful a league formed against the Emperor, as would have broke all his measures: and therefore it was necessary for his designs to embroil them. It was also said, that the King was seeking delays and concessions, merely to delude the Pope; and that he had proceeded far in his design against that see; that it was necessary to go on to censures: and the angry Pope was so provoked by them, and by the news that he heard out of England, that, without consulting his ordinary prudence, he brought in the matter into the Consistory; and there the Imperialists being the greater number, it was driven on with so much precipitation, that they did in one day that, which, according to form, should have been done in three.

March 23. But proceeds hastily to a sentence.

They gave the final sentence, declaring the King's marriage with Queen Catharine good; and required him to live with her as his wife, otherwise they would proceed to censures. Two days after that, the courier came with the King's submission in due form: he also brought earnest letters from Francis, in the King's favour. This wrought on all the indifferent Cardinals, as well as those of the French faction. So they prayed the Pope to recall what was done. A new Consistory was called, but the Imperialists pressed with greater vehemence

BOOK I.

1533.

than ever, that they would not give such scand to the world, as to recall a definitive sentence passed of the validity of a marriage, and give the heretics such advantages by their unsteadiness in matters of that nature: and so it was carried, that the former sentence should take place; and the execution of it was committed to the Emperor. When this was known in England, it determined the King in his resolutions of shaking off the Pope's yoke, in which he had made so great a progres that the Parliament had passed all the acts con cerning it, before he had the news from Rome: he judged, that the best way to peace was, to le them at Rome see with what vigour he could make war. All the rest of the world looked on asto nsshed, to see the Court of Rome throw off Eng land with so much scorn, as if they had been weary of the obedience and profits of so great a kingdom and their proceedings looked as if they had been secretly directed by a divine Providence, that de signed to draw great consequences from this rup ture, and did so far infatuate those that were mos concerned to prevent it, that they needlessly drew it on themselves.

The arguments used for rejecting the Pope's power.

In England they had been now examining the foundations on which the Papal authority was built with extraordinary care for some years; and sever books being then and soon after written on tha subject, the reader will be able to see better int the reasons of their proceedings by a short abstra of these.

All the Apostles were made equal in the powe that Christ gave them, and he often condemne their contests about superiority, but never declar in St. Peter's favour. St. Paul withstood him his face, and reckoned himself not inferior to hi If the dignity of a person left any authority wi the city in which he sat, then Antioch must car it as well as Rome: and Jerusalem, where Chr suffered, was to be preferred to all the world, it was truly the mother Church. Christ said Peter. *Upon this rock will I build my Church.* T

9

BOOK I. 1533.

cients understood by the *Rock*, either the confession Peter had made, or, which is all one upon the matter, Christ himself; and though it were to be meant of St. Peter, all the rest of the Apostles are also called *Foundations:* that of, *Tell the Church*, was by many Doctors of the Church of Rome turned against the Pope for a General Council. The other privileges ascribed to St. Peter were only a precedence of order, or were occasioned by his fall, as that, *Feed my sheep;* it being a restoring him to the Apostolical function. St. Peter had also a limited province, the circumcision, as St. Paul had the uncircumcision, that was of far greater extent; which shewed that he was not considered as the universal Pastor. In the primitive Church St. Cyprian, and other Bishops, wrote to the Bishop of Rome, as to their fellow-bishop, colleague, and brother: they were against appeals to Rome, and did not submit to their definition, and in plain terms asserted, that all Bishops were equal in power as the Apostles had been. It is true, the dignity of the city made the Bishops of Rome to be much esteemed; yet in the first Council of Nice the Bishops of Alexandria and Antioch were declared to have the same authority in the countries about them, that the Bishops of Rome had over those that lay about them. It is true, the East being overrun with Arianism, from which the West was better preserved, the oppressed Eastern Bishops did take shelter in the protection the Bishops of Rome gave them; and, as is natural to all people, they magnified that authority which was so useful to them. But the second General Council indirectly condemned all appeals to Rome: for it decreed, that every province should be governed by its own synod, and allowed no higher appeal but to the Bishops of the diocese. Constantinople being made the imperial city, the second and fourth General Council gave it equal privileges with Rome, because it was new Rome; which shews that the dignity of the sees flowed from the greatness of the cities. The African Churches

BOOK I.

1533.

condemned all appeals to Rome, and the Popes, who complained of that, pretended only to a Canon of the Council of Nice for it; and then they did not talk of a divine right: but search being made into all the copies of the Canons of the Council, that was found to be a forgery. When the Emperor Mauricius gave the title, *Universal Bishop*, to the Patriarch of Constantinople, Gregory the Great complained of the ambition of that title, which he calls equal to the pride of Lucifer; and since England received the faith by those whom he sent over, it appeared from thence what was the doctrine of that see at that time, and, by consequence, what were the first impressions made on the English in that matter. It is true, Boniface the Third got the same title by Phocas's grant, and Boniface the Eighth pretended to all power both spiritual and temporal; but the progress of their usurpations, and the wars raised to maintain them, were very visible in history. The Popes swore at their consecrations to obey the Canons of the eight first General Councils, which are manifest against appeals, and their universal jurisdiction: small regard is to be had to the decrees of latter Councils, being cabals packed and managed as the Popes pleased. Several sees, as Ravenna, Milan, and Aquileia, pretended exemption from the Papal authority. Many English Bishops had asserted, that the Popes had no authority against the Canons, and to that day no Canon the Popes made was binding, till it was received; which shewed the Pope's authority was not believed founded on a divine authority: and the contest that the Kings of England had with the Popes concerning the investitures, Bishops doing the King homage, appeals to Rome, and the authority of Papal bulls and provisions, shewed that the Pope's power was believed subject to laws and custom, and so not derived from Christ and St. Peter; and as laws had given them some power, and Princes had been forced in ignorant ages to submit to their usurpation, so they

might, as they saw cause, change those laws, and resume their rights. BOOK I.

The next point inquired into was, the authority that Kings had in matters of religion and the Church. The Kings of Israel judged in all causes, and Samuel called Saul the *Head of the tribes.* David made many rules about the service at the temple, and declaring to Solomon what his power was, he told him, that the *Priests were wholly at his command;* and it is also said, that *Solomon appointed the Priests their charges in the service of God, and that they departed not from his commandment in any matter:* he turned out one high-priest, and put another in his room. Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josias, made also laws about ecclesiastical matters. In the New Testament, Christ was himself subject to the civil powers, and charged his disciples not to affect temporal dominion. They also wrote to the Churches to be subject to the higher powers, and call them *Supreme,* and charge every soul to be subject to them: so in Scripture the King is called *Head* and *Supreme,* and *every soul* is said to be under him; which joined together makes up this conclusion, that *he is the supreme Head over all persons.* In the primitive Church the Bishops only made rules or canons, but pretended to no compulsive authority but what came from the civil magistrate. The Roman Emperors called Councils, presided in them, and confirmed them, and made many laws concerning ecclesiastical matters; so did also Charles the Great. The Emperors did also either choose the Popes themselves, or confirm their elections. Churchmen taking orders were not thereby discharged from the obedience they formerly owed their Princes, but remained still subjects. And though the officers of the Church had peculiar functions, in which the people were subject to them, that did not deliver them from their obedience to the King; as a father's authority over his children cuts not off the King's power over him. They found also that in all times the Kings of England had assumed an authority in ecclesiastical matters.

1533.

And for the King's supremacy.

1 Chron. xxviii. 21.

2 Chron. viii. 14, 15.

BOOK I. 1533. Ina, Alfred, Edgar, and Canutus, had many laws about them: so had also most of the Kings since the conquest, which appeared particularly in the Articles of Clarendon, and the contests that followed upon them; and from the days of King Ina, they had granted exemptions to monasteries from the episcopal jurisdiction down to William the Conqueror's time, besides many other acts that clearly imported a supremacy over all persons, and in all causes. But they did at the same time so explain and limit this power, that it was visible they did not intend to subject religion wholly to the pleasure of the King; for it was declared, that his power was only a coercive authority, to defend the true religion, to abolish heresies and idolatries, to cause Bishops and Pastors to do their duties, and in case they were negligent, or would not amend their faults, to put others in their room. Upon the whole matter, they concluded that the Pope had no power in England, and that the King had an entire dominion over all his subjects, which did extend even to the regulating of ecclesiastical matters.

The Clergy submitted to it. These things being fully opened in many disputes, and published in several books, all the Bishops, Abbots, and Priors of England, Fisher only excepted, were so far satisfied with them, or so much in love with their preferments, that they resolved to comply with the changes which the King was resolved to make. Fisher was in great esteem for piety and strictness of life, and therefore much pains was taken with him. A little before the Parliament met, Cranmer proposed to him, that he, and any five Doctors he would choose, and Stokesly, with five on his side, should confer on that point, and examine the authorities that were on both sides: he accepted of it, and Stokesly wrote to him to name time and place, but Fisher's sickness hindered the progress of that motion.

A session of Parliament. The Parliament met the 15th of January; there were but seven Bishops and twelve Abbots present: the rest, it seems, were unwilling to concur in making this change, though they complied with it when

it was made. Every Sunday during the session a Bishop preached at St. Paul's, and declared that the Pope had no authority in England: before this, they had only said, that a General Council was above him, and that the exactions of that Court, and appeals to it, were unlawful; but now they went strain higher, to prepare the people for receiving the acts then in agitation. On the 9th of March the Commons began the bill for taking away the Pope's power, and sent it to the Lords on the 14th, who passed it on the 20th without any dissent. In it they set forth "the exactions the Court of Rome "grounded on the Pope's power of dispensing; and "that as none could dispense with the laws of God, "so the King and Parliament only had the autho-"rity of dispensing with the laws of the land; and "that therefore such licences or dispensations as "were formerly in use should be for the future "granted by the two Archbishops: some of these "were to be confirmed under the Great Seal; and "they appointed that thereafter all commerce with "Rome should cease." They also declared, "that "they did not intend to alter any article of the ca-"tholic faith of Christendom, or of that which was "declared in the Scripture necessary to salvation. "They confirmed all the exemptions granted to "monasteries by the Popes, but subjected them to "the King's visitation, and gave the King and his "Council power to examine and reform all indul-"gencies and privileges granted by the Pope. The "offenders against this law were to be punished ac-"cording to the statutes of *præmunire*." This act subjected the monasteries entirely to the King's authority, and put them in no small confusion. Those that loved the Reformation rejoiced both to see the Pope's power rooted out, and to find the Scripture made the standard of religion.

The Pope's power taken away.

After this act, another passed in both Houses in six days time, without any opposition, "settling the "succession of the Crown, confirming the sentence "of divorce, and the King's marriage with Queen

The act of the succession.

BOOK I.

1533.

"Anne, and declaring all marriages within the de-"grees prohibited by Moses to be unlawful: all "that had married within them were appointed to "be divorced, and their issue illegitimated; and "the succession to the Crown was settled upon the "King's issue by the present Queen, or, in default "of that, to the King's right heirs, for ever. All "were required to swear to maintain the contents "of this act, and if any refused to swear to it, or "should say any thing to the slander of the King's "marriage, he was to be judged guilty of misprision "of treason, and to be punished accordingly." The oath is also set down in the Journals of the House of Lords; by which they did not only swear obedience to the King, and his heirs, by his present marriage, but also to defend the act of succession, and all the effects and contents in it, against all manner of persons whatsoever; by which they were bound to maintain the divorce, both against the Pope's censures, and the Emperor, if he went about to execute them.

An act regulating the proceedings against heretics.

At this time one Phillips complained to the House of Commons of the Bishop of London, for using him cruelly in prison, upon suspicion of heresy. The Commons sent up this to the Lords, but received no answer: so they sent some of their members to the Bishop, desiring him to answer the complaints put in against him: but he acquainted the House of Lords with it; and they all with one consent voted, that none of their house ought to appear, or to answer any complaint at the bar of the House of Commons. So the Commons let this particular case fall, and sent up a bill, to which the Lords agreed, regulating the proceedings against heretics, "That whereas, by the statute made by "King Henry the Fourth, Bishops might commit "men upon suspicion of heresy; and heresy was "generally defined to be whatever was contrary to "the Scriptures, or canonical sanctions, which was "liable to great ambiguity; therefore that statute "was repealed, and none were to be committed for "heresy, but upon a presentment made by two

1534.

"witnesses: none were to be accused for speaking "against things that were grounded only upon the "Pope's Canons. Bail was to be taken for here-"tics, and they were to be brought to their trials "in open court; and if, upon conviction, they did "not abjure, or were relapses, they were to be burnt; "the King's writ being first obtained." This was a great check to the Bishop's tyranny, and gave no small comfort to all that favoured the Reformation.

The submission of the Clergy.

The Convocation sent in a submission at the same time, by which they acknowledged, that all Convocations ought to be assembled by the King's writ, and promised, upon the *word of Priests*, never to make nor execute any canons, without the King's assent. They also desired, that since many of the received canons were found to be contrary to the King's prerogative, and the laws of the land, there might be a committee named by the King of thirty-two; the one half out of both Houses of Parliament, and the other of the Clergy, empowered to abrogate or regulate them, as they should see cause. This was confirmed in Parliament, and the act against appeals to Rome was renewed, and an appeal was allowed from the Archbishop to the King; upon which the Lord Chancellor was to grant a commission for a Court of Delegates. A proviso was added, that till the committee of thirty-two should settle a regulation of the canons, those then in force should still take place, except such as were contrary to the King's prerogative, or the laws. But this last proviso, though it seemed reasonable to give the spiritual courts some rules, till the thirty-two should finish their work, made, that it came to nothing; for it was thought more for the greatness of the King's authority; and it subjected the Bishops' courts more to the prohibitions of the temporal courts, to keep this whole matter in such general terms, than to have brought it to a regulation that should be fixed and constant.

An act for the election of Bishops.

"Another act passed for regulating the elections "and consecrations of Bishops, condemning all

BOOK I.

1534.

"bulls from Rome, and appointing that upon a vacancy the King should grant a licence for an election, and should by a missive letter signify the person's name whom he would have chosen: and within twelve days after these were delivered, the Dean and Chapter, or Prior and Convent, were required to return an election of the person named by the King, under their seals. The Bishop elect was upon that to swear fealty, and a writ was to be issued out for his consecration in the usual manner: after that, he was to do homage to the King; upon which, both the temporalities and spiritualities were to be restored, and Bishops were to exercise their jurisdiction as they had done before. All that transgressed this act were made guilty of a *præmunire*."

A private act passed, depriving Cardinal Campegio and Jerome de Ghinuccii of the bishoprics of Salisbury and Worcester: the reasons given for it are, because they did not reside in their dioceses, for preaching the laws of God, and keeping hospitality, but lived at the Court of Rome, and carried three thousand pounds a year out of the kingdom.

The attainder of the Nun of Kent.

The last act of a public nature, though relating only to private persons, of which I shall give an account, was concerning the Nun of Kent, and her complices: it was the first occasion of shedding any blood in this quarrel, and it was much cherished by all the superstitious Clergy that adhered to the Queen's interest, and the Pope's. The Nun, and many of her complices, came to the Lords' bar, and confessed the whole matter. Among the concealers of this treason, Sir Thomas More and Fisher were named: the former wrote upon that a long letter to Cromwell, giving him a particular account of all the conversation he had at any time with the Nun: he acknowledged he had esteemed her highly, not so much out of any regard he had to her prophecies, but for the opinion he conceived of her holiness and humility. But he adds, that he was then convinced, "That she was the most false dissembling hypocrite that had been known; and

"guilty of most detestable hypocrisy and devilish "dissembled falsehood: he also believed that she "had communication with an evil spirit." Concerning this letter a curious discovery has been made. In Queen Mary's time More's works were published, and among them, other letters of his to Cromwell, relating to that long one which he wrote concerning the Nun, were printed; but that was left out, of which More kept a copy, and gave it to his daughter Roper: that copy was in the MS. out of which the rest were published, and out of that I have transcribed it. The design of suppressing it seems to be this: it is probable, there might have been some thoughts in Queen Mary's time, to canonize the Nun, since she was called a martyr for her mother's marriage; and there was no want of miracles to justify it: therefore a letter so plain and full against her was thought fit to be kept out of the way. This justification of More's prevailed so far, that his name was struck out of the bill. The act contains a narrative of that whole story, which is in short this:

Elizabeth Barton, of Kent, fell in some trances, (it seems they were hysterical fits,) and spake such things as made those about her think she was inspired of God. The parson of the parish, Master, hoping to draw advantages from this, gave Archbishop Warham notice of it, who ordered him to observe her carefully, and bring him an account of what should follow. But she had forgot all that she said in her fits, when they were over: yet the Priest would not let it go so, but persuaded her that she was inspired, and taught her so to counterfeit those trances, that she became very ready at it. The matter was much noised about, and the Priest intended to raise the credit of an image of the blessed Virgin's that was in his church, that so pilgrimages and offerings might be made to it by her means. He associated to himself one Bocking, a Monk of Canterbury, and they taught her to say in her fits, that the blessed Virgin appeared to her, and told her, she could not be well till she visited

BOOK I. 1534.

that image. She spake many good words against ill life, and spake also against heresy, and the King's suit of divorce, then depending; and by many strange motions of her body she seemed to be inwardly possessed. A day was set for her cure; and before an assembly of two thousand people she was carried to that image; and after she had acted her fits all over, she seemed of a sudden quite recovered, which was ascribed to the intercession of the Virgin, and the virtue of that image. She entered into a religious life, and Bocking was her ghostly father. There were violent suspicions of incontinence between them; but the esteem she was in bore them down. Many thought her a prophetess; and Warham among the rest. A book was also written of her revelations, and a letter was shewed all in letters of gold, pretended to be writ to her from heaven by Mary Magdalene. She pretended, that when the King was last at Calais, she was carried invisibly beyond sea, and brought back again, and that an angel gave her the Sacrament; and that God revealed to her, that if the King went on in his divorce, and married another wife, he should fall from his Crown, and not live a month longer, *but should die a villain's death.*

Many of the Monks of the Charter-House, and the Observant Friars, with many Nuns, and Bp. Fisher, came to give credit to this, and set a great value on her, and grew very insolent upon it; for Friar Peyto preaching in the King's chapel at Greenwich, denounced the judgments of God upon him, and said, though others as lying prophets deceived him, yet he in the name of God told him, that *dogs should lick his blood as they had done Ahab's.* The King bore this patiently; but ordered one Dr. Corren to preach next Sunday, and to answer all that he had said, who railed against Peyto, as a dog and a traitor. Peyto had gone to Canterbury; but Elston, a Franciscan of the same house, interrupted him, and called him one of the lying prophets, that went about to establish the succession of the Crown by adultery; and spoke

Alias Curwin.

BOOK I. 1534.

with such vehemence, that the King himself was forced to command him silence. And yet so unwilling was the King to go to extremities, that all that was done upon so high a provocation, was, that they were called before the Council, and rebuked for their insolence. But the Nun's confederates publishing her revelations in all parts of the kingdom, she and nine of her complices were apprehended in November last year; and they did all without any rack or torture, discover the whole conspiracy, and upon that were appointed to go to St. Paul's; and after a sermon preached upon that occasion by the Bishop of Bangor, they repeated their confession in the hearing of the people, and were sent to lie prisoners in the Tower. But it was given out, that all was extorted from them by violence; and messages were sent to the Nun, desiring her to deny all that she had confessed; which made the King judge it necessary to proceed to further extremities. So she, and six of her chief complices, were attainted of treason: and the Bishop of Rochester and five more were attainted of misprision of treason. But at the intercession of Queen Anne, (as it is expressed in the act,) all others that had been concerned with her were pardoned.

Capon.

Fisher.

This was as black an imposture as any ever was; and if it had fallen out in a darker age, in which the world went mad after visions, the King might have lost his crown by it. The discovery of this disposed all to look on older stories of the trances of monastical people, as contrivances to serve base ends, and did make way for the ruin of that order of men in England; but all that was at present done upon it was, that the Observants were put out of their houses, and mixed with the other Franciscans, and the Austin Friars were put in their rooms. When all these acts were passed, the King gave his assent to them on the 29th of March, and prorogued the Parliament till November.

The members of both Houses swore to the oath of succession on the day of the prorogation. On the 20th of April followed the execution of the

The oath of succession sworn.

BOOK I.

1534.

Fisher in some trouble.

Nun and her complices at Tyburn, where she freely acknowledged her impostures, and the justice of the sentence, and laid the blame on those who suffered with her; who, because the thing was profitable to them, praised her much, and though they knew that all was feigned, yet gave out that it was done by the working of the Holy Ghost; and she concluded her life, begging both God's and the King's pardon. Upon the first discovery of this cheat, Cromwell sent Fisher's brother to him to reprove him for his carriage in that business, and to advise him to ask the King's pardon for the encouragement he had given to the Nun, which he was confident the King would grant him: but Fisher excused himself, and said, he had done nothing, but only tried whether her revelations were true or not. He confessed, that, upon the reports he had heard, he was induced to have a high opinion of her; and that he had never discovered any falsehood in her. It is true, she said some things to him concerning the King's death, which he had not revealed; but he thought it was not necessary to do it; because he knew she had told it to the King herself: she had named no person that should kill the King, but had only denounced it as a judgment of God on him; and he had reason to think that the King would have been offended with him if he had spoken of it to him; and so he desired to be no more troubled with that matter. But upon that, Cromwell wrote him a sharp letter; he shewed him that he had proceeded rashly in that affair, being so partial in the matter of the King's divorce, that he easily believed every thing that seemed to make against it: he shewed him how necessary it was to use great caution before extraordinary things should be received, or spread about as revelations; since otherwise the peace of the world should be in the hands of every bold or crafty impostor: yet in conclusion he advises him again to ask the King's pardon for his rashness, and he assures him that the King was ready to forgive that, and every thing else, by which he had offended

BOOK I.

1534.

And is very obstinate.

him. But Fisher was obstinate, and would make no submission, and so was included within the act; yet it was not executed till a new provocation drew him into further trouble. The secular and regular Clergy did every where swear the oath of succession; which none did more zealously promote than Gardiner, who before the 6th of May got all his Clergy to swear it: and the religious orders being apprehensive of the King's jealousies of them, took care to remove them, by sending in declarations under the seals of their houses, that in their opinion the King's present marriage was lawful, and that they would always acknowledge him *Head of the Church of England;* that the Bishop of Rome had no authority out of his own diocese, and that they would continue obedient to the King, notwithstanding his censures; that they would preach the Gospel sincerely according to the Scriptures and the tradition of the Catholic Doctors, and would in their prayers pray for the King as supreme Head of the Church of England.

More and Fisher refuse the oath.

A meeting of the Council sat at Lambeth, to which many were cited in order to the swearing the oath; among whom was Sir Thomas More and Fisher. More was first called on to take it: he answered, that he neither blamed those that made the acts, nor those that swore the oath, and that he was willing to swear to maintain the succession to the Crown, but could not take the oath as it was conceived. Fisher made the same answer; but all the rest that were cited before them took it. More was much pressed to give his reasons against it; but he refused to do that; for it might be called a disputing against law: yet he would put them into writing, if the King would command him to do it. Cranmer said, if he did not blame those that took it, it seems he was not persuaded it was a sin, and so was only doubtful of it; but he was sure he ought to obey the law, if it was not sinful; so there was a certainty on the one hand, and only a doubt on the other; and therefore the former ought to determine him. This he confessed did shake him a

BOOK I.

1534.

little; but he said, he thought in his conscience, that it would be a sin in him, and offered to take his oath upon that, and that he was not led by any other consideration. The Abbot of Westminster told him, he ought to think his conscience was misled, since the Parliament was of another mind; an argument well becoming a rich ignorant Abbot. But More said, if the Parliament of England was against him, yet he believed all the rest of Christendom was on his side. In conclusion, both he and Fisher declared, that they thought it was in the power of the Parliament to settle the succession to the Crown, and so were ready to swear to that, but they could not take the oath that was tendered to them; for by it they must swear to maintain all the contents in the act of succession, and in it the King's former marriage was declared unlawful; to which they could not assent. Cranmer pressed that this might be accepted: for if they once swore to maintain the succession, it would conduce much to the quiet of the nation; but sharper counsels were more acceptable: so they were both committed to the Tower, and pen, ink, and paper was kept from them. The old Bishop was also hardly used both in his clothes and diet; he had only rags to cover him, and fire was often denied him, which was a cruelty not capable of any excuse, and was as barbarous as it was imprudent.

Another session of Parliament.

In winter another session of Parliament was held; the first act that passed declared the King to be the *supreme Head on Earth of the Church of England*, and appointed that to be added to his other titles; and it was enacted, that he and his successors should have full authority to reform all heresies and abuses in the spiritual jurisdiction. By another act they confirmed the oath of succession, which had not been specified in the former act, though agreed to by the Lords. They also gave the King the first fruits and tenths of ecclesiastical benefices, as being the supreme Head of the Church; for the King being put in the Pope's room, it was thought reasonable to give him the annats, which the Popes had

formerly exacted. The temporality were now willing to revenge themselves on the spirituality, and to tax them as heavily as they had formerly tyrannized over them. Another act passed, declaring some things treason; one of these was the denying the King any of his titles, or the calling him heretic, schismatic, or usurper of the Crown. By another act, provision was made for setting up twenty-six suffragan Bishops over England, for the more speedy administration of the sacraments, and the better service of God: it is also said, they had been formerly accustomed to be in the kingdom. The Bishop of the diocese was to present two to the King, and upon the King's declaring his choice, the Archbishop was to consecrate the person, and then the Bishop was to delegate such parts of his charge to his care as he thought fitting, which was to last during his pleasure. These were the same that the ancients called the *Chorepiscopi*, who were at first the Bishops of some villages; but were afterwards put under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of the next city. They were set up before the Council of Nice, and continued to be in the Church for many ages; but the Bishops devolving their whole spiritual power to them, they were put down, and a decretal epistle was forged in the name of P. Damascus, condemning them. The great extent of the dioceses in England made it hard for one Bishop to govern them with that exactness that was necessary; these were therefore appointed to assist them in the discharge of the pastoral care.

In this Parliament subsidies were granted, payable in three years, with the highest preamble of their happiness under the King's government, all those twenty-four years in which he had reigned, that flattery could dictate. Fisher and More, by two special acts, were attainted of misprision of treason; five other Clerks were in like manner condemned, all for refusing to swear the oath of succession. The see of Rochester was declared void; yet it seems few were willing to succeed such a man, for it continued vacant two years. This

BOOK I. 1534.

severity against them was censured by some as extreme, since they are willing to swear to the succession in other terms; so that it was merely a point of conscience, in which the common safety was not concerned, at which they stuck; and it was thought the prosecuting them in this manner would so raise their credit, that it might endanger the government more than any opposition which they could make.

The progress the new doctrines made in England.

But now that the King entered upon a new scene, it will be necessary to open the progress that the new opinions had made in England all the time of the King's suit of divorce. During Wolsey's ministry, those preachers were gently used; and it is probable the King ordered the Bishops to give over their enquiring after them, when the Pope began to use him ill; for the progress of heresy was always reckoned up at Rome among the mischiefs that would follow upon the Pope's denying the King desires. But More coming into favour, he offered new counsels; he thought the King's proceeding severely against heretics would be so meritorious at Rome, that it would work more effectually than all his threatenings had done: so a severe proclamation was issued out both against their books and persons, ordering all the laws against them to be put in execution. Tindall and some others at Antwerp were every year either translating or writing books against some of the received errors, and sending them over to England; but his translation of the New Testament gave the greatest wound, and was much complained of by the Clergy, as full of errors. Tonstall, then Bishop of London, being a man of great learning and virtue, which is generally accompanied with much moderation, returning from the treaty of Cambray, to which More and he were sent in the King's name, as he came through Antwerp, dealt with an English merchant that was secretly a friend of Tindall's, to procure him as many of his New Testaments as could be had for money. Tindall was glad of this; for being about a more correct

1534.

edition, he found he would be better enabled to set about it, if the copies of the old were sold off; so he gave the merchant all he had, and Tonstall paying the price of them, got them in his hands, and burnt them publicly in Cheapside. This was called a burning of the Word of God; and it was said, the Clergy had reason to revenge themselves on it, for it had done them more mischief than all other books whatsoever. But a year after this, the second edition being finished, great numbers were sent over to England, and Constantine, one of Tindall's partners, happened to be taken; so More believing that some of the merchants of London furnished them with money, promised him his liberty, if he would discover who they were that encouraged and assisted them: so he told him the Bishop of London did more than all the world besides; for he had bought up the greatest part of a faulty impression. The Clergy, when they condemned Tindall's translation, promised a new one: but a year after, in a long condemnation of several books that were published by Warham, Tonstall, and other Canonists and Divines, they added this, That it was not necessary to publish the Scripture in English, and that the King did well not to set about it.

The Supplication of the Beggars.

There came out a book writ by one Fish of Gray's-Inn, that took mightily, called the *Supplication of the Beggars,* by which they complained, that the alms of the people were intercepted by the mendicant Friars, that were an useless burden to the government; they also taxed the Pope of cruelty, for taking no pity on the poor, since none but those that could pay for it were delivered out of Purgatory. The King was so pleased with this, that he would not suffer any thing to be done against the author. More answered it by another supplication in behalf of the souls in Purgatory, setting forth the miseries they were in, and the relief which they received by the masses that were said for them; and therefore they called on their friends to support the religious orders, that had

BOOK I.

1534.

now so many enemies. This was elegantly and wittily written, but did not take so much as the other; for such is the ill nature of mankind, that satires are always better received than apologies, and no satires are more acceptable than those against Churchmen.

Frith writes against Purgatory.

Frith answered More in a book more gravely written, in which he shewed that there was no mention made of Purgatory in the Scripture; that it was inconsistent with the merits of Christ, by which, upon sincere repentance, all sins were pardoned; for if they were pardoned, they could not be punished: and though temporary judgments, either as medicinal corrections, or for giving warning to others, do sometimes fall even on true penitents; yet terrible punishments in another state cannot consist with a free pardon, and the remembering of our sins no more. In expounding many passages of the New Testament, he appealed to More's great friend, Erasmus; and shewed, that the fire which was spoken of by St. Paul, as that which would consume *the wood, hay, and stubble,* could only be meant of the fiery trial of persecution. He shewed, that the primitive Church received it not; Ambrose, Jerome, and Austin did not believe it: the last had plainly said, that no mention was made of it in Scripture. The Monks brought it in, and, by many wonderful stories, possessed the world of the belief of it; and had made a very gainful trade of it. This book provoked the Clergy so much, that they resolved to make the author feel a real fire, for endeavouring to extinguish their imaginary one. More objected poverty, and want of learning, to the new preachers: but it was answered, the same thing was made use of to disgrace Christ and his Apostles; but a plain simplicity of mind, without artificial improvements, was rather thought a good disposition for men that were to bear a cross; and the glory of God appeared more eminently, when the instruments seemed contemptible.

A persecution set on by More.

But the pen proving too feeble, and too gentle a tool, the Clergy betook themselves to that, on

BOOK I. 1534.

which they relied more: many were vexed with imprisonments for teaching their children the Lord's Prayer in English, for harbouring the preachers, and for speaking against the corruptions in the worship, or the vices of the Clergy; but these generally abjured. One Hinton, that had been a Curate, and went over to Tindall, was taken coming back with some books, and was by Warham condemned and burnt.

1530. Bilney's martyrdom.

Bilney, after his abjuration formerly mentioned, returned to Cambridge, and fell under great horror of mind; but overcame it, and resolved to expiate his apostacy by a public acknowledgment: and that he might be able to do that on surer grounds, he followed his studies close two years; but then he left the University, and went into Norfolk, where he was born, and preached up and down that county against idolatry and superstition; exhorting the people to live well, to give much alms, to believe in Christ, and to offer up their souls and wills to him in the Sacrament. He openly confessed his own sin of denying the faith; and using no precaution as he went about, he was taken by the Bishop's officers, and was condemned as a relapse, and degraded. More not only sent down the writ to burn him, but, to make him suffer another way, he affirmed in print that he had abjured; but no paper signed by him was ever shewed, and little credit was due to the Priests who gave it out, that he did it by word of mouth: but Parker (afterwards Archbishop) was an eye-witness of his sufferings. He bore all the hardships he was put to patiently; and continued very cheerful after his sentence; and eat up the poor provision that was brought him, heartily; for he said, he must keep up a ruinous cottage till it fell. He had those words often in his mouth, *When thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burnt:* and by burning his finger in the candle, he prepared himself for the fire, and said, it would only consume the stubble of his body, but would purify his soul. Isaiah.

On the tenth of November he was burnt. At

BOOK I.

1530.

the stake he repeated the Creed, to shew he was a true Christian; for the Clergy made strange representations of his doctrine: then he prayed earnestly, and with a deep sense repeated those words, *Enter not into judgment with thy servant.* Dr. Warner, that waited on him, embraced him, shedding many tears, and wished that he might die in as good a state as that in which he then was. The Friars desired him to declare to the people, that they had not procured his death, and he did it; so the last act of his life was full of charity to his enemies. His sufferings animated others. Byfield, that had formerly abjured, was taken dispersing Tindall's books, and he with one Tewkesbury were condemned by Stokesley, and burnt. Two men and a woman were also burnt at York. Upon these proceedings, the Parliament that sate that year complained to the King; but that did not cool the heat of the Clergy. One Bainham, a counsellor of the Temple, was taken on suspicion of heresy, and whipped in More's presence, and afterwards racked in the Tower: yet he could not be wrought on to accuse any, but through fear he abjured. After that, being discharged, he was in great trouble of mind, and could find no quiet till he went publicly to church, and openly confessed his sins; and declared the torments he felt in his conscience for what he had done. Upon this he was again seized on, and condemned, for having said, "that "Thomas Becket was a murderer, and was damned "if he did not repent: and that in the Sacrament "Christ's body was received by faith, and not "chewed with the teeth." Sentence passed upon him by Stokesly, and he was burnt. Soon after this, More delivered up the Great Seal, so the preachers had some ease. Crome and Latimer were accused, but abjured. Tracy (ancestor to the present Lord Tracy) made a will, by which he left his soul to God, in hopes of mercy through Christ, without the help of any other saint; and therefore he declared, that he would leave nothing for soul masses. This will being brought to the

Bishop of London's court to be proved, after his death, provoked them so much, that he was condemned as an heretic; and an order was sent to the Chancellor of Worcester, to raise his body; but he went further, and burnt it, which could not be justified, since he was not a relapse. Tracy's heir sued him for it, and he was turned out of his place, and fined in four hundred pounds. The Clergy proclaimed an indulgence of forty days' pardon to any that carried a faggot to the burning of an heretic, that so cruelty might seem the more meritorious. And an aged man (Harding) being condemned by Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, as he was tied to the stake, one flung a faggot with such force at him, that it dashed out his brains.

BOOK I.

1530.

1533.

After an intermission of two years, Gardiner represented to the King, that it would give him great advantages against the Pope, if he would take hold of some occasion to shew his hatred of heresy. So Frith seemed a fit person to offer as a sacrifice, to demonstrate his zeal: he was a young man much famed for learning, and was the first that wrote against the corporal presence in the Sacrament, in England. He followed Zuinglius's doctrine on these grounds; Christ received in the Sacrament gave eternal life; but this was given only to those that believed; from which he inferred that he was received only by faith. St. Paul said, that the Fathers before Christ eat the same spiritual food with Christians; from which it appears, that Christ is now no more corporally present to us than he was to them: and he argued from the nature of Sacraments in general, and the ends of the Lord's Supper, that it was only a commemoration. Yet upon these premises he built no other conclusion, but that Christ's presence was no article of faith. Frith put these reasons in writing, which falling into More's hands, were answered by him; but Frith never saw that till he was put in prison: and then, though he was loaded with irons, and had no books allowed him, he replied. He insisted much on that argument, that the Israelites did eat the

Frith's sufferings.

BOOK I.

1533.

same food, and drank of the same rock, that was Christ; and since Christ was only mystically and by faith received by them, he concluded, that he was now received only by faith. He shewed, that Christ's words, *This is my body*, were accommodated to the Jewish phrase of calling the lamb the Lord's Passover; and confirmed his opinion with many passages out of the Fathers, in which the elements were called signs and figures of Christ's body; and they said, that upon consecration they did not cease to be bread and wine, but remained still in their own proper natures. He also shewed, that the Fathers were strangers to all the consequences of that opinion, as that a body could be in more places than one at once, or could be in a place after the manner of a spirit: yet he concluded, that if that opinion were held only as a speculation, so that adoration were not offered to the elements, it might be well tolerated; but that he condemned as gross idolatry. This was intended by him to prevent such heats in England as were raised in Germany, between the Lutherans and Helvetians, by reason of their different opinions concerning the Sacrament. He was seized on in May, 1533, and brought before Stokesly, Gardiner, and Longland. They objected to him his not believing purgatory nor transubstantiation. He gave his reasons that determined him to look on neither of these as articles of faith; but he thought that neither the affirming nor denying them ought to be determined positively. The Bishops seemed unwilling to proceed to sentence; but he continuing resolute, Stokesly pronounced it; and so delivered him to the secular arm, obtesting, that his punishment might be moderated, so that the rigour might not be too extreme, nor yet the gentleness of it too much mitigated. This obtestation by the bowels of Christ was thought a mockery, when all the world knew, that it was intended that he should be burnt. One Hewit, a prentice of London, was also condemned with him, on the same account. When they were brought to Smithfield, Frith expressed great

joy, and hugged the faggots with some transport: BOOK I.
Cook, a Priest, that stood by, called to the people not to pray for them more than they would do for a dog. Frith smiled at that, and prayed God to forgive him: the fire was kindled, which consumed them to ashes. This was the last instance of the cruelty of the Clergy at this time; for the act formerly mentioned, regulating their proceedings, followed soon after. Phillips, at whose complaint that bill was begun, was committed upon suspicion of heresy; a copy of Tracy's will was found about him, and butter and cheese were also found in his chamber in Lent: but he being required to abjure, appealed to the King as *supreme Head*, and upon that he was set at liberty; but whether he was tried by the King or not, is not upon record. 1533.

A stop put to further cruelties.

The act that was passed gave the new preachers and their followers some respite. The King was also empowered to reform all heresies and idolatries: and his affairs did now oblige him to unite himself to the Princes of Germany, that by their means he might so embroil the Emperor's affairs, as not to give him leisure to turn his arms against England: and this produced a slackening of all severities against them: for those Princes, in that first fervor of the Reformation, made it an article in all their treaties, that none should be persecuted for favouring their doctrine. The Queen did also openly protect them; she took Latimer and Shaxton to be her chaplains, and promoted them to the bishoprics of Worcester and Salisbury. Cranmer was fully convinced of the necessity of a reformation, and, that he might carry it on with true judgment, and justify it by good authorities, he made a great collection of the opinions of the ancient Fathers and later doctors, in all the points of religion; of which I have seen two volumes in folio: but by a letter of the Lord Burleigh's it appears, there were then six volumes of his collections in his hands. He was a man of great candour, and much patience and industry; and so was on all accounts well prepared for that work, to which the

The interest the reformers had at Court.

BOOK I. 1534.

providence of God did now call him: and though he was in some things too much subject to the King's imperious temper, yet in the matter of the six articles he shewed that he wanted not the courage that became a Bishop in so critical an affair as that was. Cromwell was his great and constant friend; a man of mean birth, but of excellent qualities, as appeared in his adhering to his master Wolsey, after his fall; a rare demonstration of gratitude in a court, to a disgraced favourite: and in his greatest height, he happening to see a merchant of Lucca, who had pitied and relieved him when he was in Italy, but did not so much as know him, or pretend to any returns for the small favours he had formerly shewed him, and was then reduced to a low condition, treated him with such acknowledgments, that it became the subject of several pens, which strove who should celebrate it most.

Others oppose it much.

As these set themselves to carry on a reformation, there was another party formed that as vigorously opposed it, headed by the Duke of Norfolk and Gardiner; and almost all the Clergy went into it. They persuaded the King that nothing would give the Pope or the Emperor such advantages, as his making any changes in religion; and it would reflect much on him, if he who had writ so learnedly for the faith should in spite to the Pope make any changes in it. Nothing would encourage other Princes so much to follow his example, nor keep his subjects so much in their duty to him, as his continuing stedfast in the ancient religion. These things made great impressions on him. But, on the other hand, Cranmer represented to him, that if he rejected the Pope's authority, it was very absurd to let such opinions or practices continue in the Church, that had no other foundation but Papal decrees: and therefore he desired that this might be put to the trial; he ought to depend on God, and hope for good success if he proceeded in this matter according to the duty of a Christian Prince. England was a complete body within itself;

BOOK I. 1534.

and though in the Roman empire, when united under one Prince, General Councils were easily assembled, yet now that was not to be so much depended on; but every Prince ought to reform the Church in his dominions by a national synod; and if in the ancient Church such synods condemned heresies, and reformed abuses that might be much more done, when Europe was divided into so many kingdoms. It was visible, that though both the Emperor and the Princes of Germany had for twenty years desired a General Council, it could not be obtained of the Pope: he had indeed offered one at Mantua, but that was only an illusion.

The opinion of some Bishops of a General Council.

Upon that, the King desired some of his Bishops to give their opinion concerning the Emperor's power of calling Councils: so Cranmer, Tonstall, Clark of Bath and Wells, and Goodrick of Ely, made answer, that though ancient Councils were called by the Roman Emperors, yet that was done by reason of the extent of their monarchy, that was now ceased; but since other Princes had an entire monarchy within their dominions: yet if one or more of those Princes should agree to call a Council to a good intent, and desire the concurrence of the rest, they were bound by the rule of charity to agree to it: they were also of opinion, that none but Bishops and Priests had right to a definitive voice in matters of doctrine.

Heads of a speech of Cranmer's.

Cranmer also made a long speech at that time, setting forth the necessity of a reformation. It is probable it was in the House of Peers, for it begins, *My Lords*——"He begun with the impostures and "deceit used by the Canonists, and other courtiers "at Rome. Then he spake to the authority of a "General Council; he shewed that it flowed not "from the number of the Bishops, but from the "matter of their decisions, which were received "with an universal consent, for there were many "more Bishops at the Council of Arimini, which "was condemned, than either at Nice or Constan-"tinople, which were received. Christ had named "no head of the whole Church, as God had named

BOOK I.

1534.

"no head of the world; but that grew up for "order's sake, as there were Archbishops set over "provinces; yet some Popes were condemned for "heresy, as Liberius, and others. If faith must be "shewed by works, the ill lives of most Popes "of late shewed, that their faith was to be suspected; and all the privileges which Princes or "Synods granted to that see might be recalled. "Popes ought to submit themselves to general "Councils, and were to be tried by them: he "shewed what were the present corruptions of the "Pope and his court, which needed reformation. "The Pope, according to the decree of the "Council of Basil, was the Church's Vicar, and "not Christ's, and so was accountable to it. The "Churches of France declared the Council to be "above the Pope, which had been acknowledged "by many Popes themselves. The power of "Councils had also bounds, nor could they judge "of the rights of Princes, or proceed to a sentence "against a King; nor were their canons of any "force till Princes added their sanctions to them. "Councils ought also to proceed moderately, even "against those that held errors, and ought not to "impose things indifferent too severely. The "Scriptures, and not men's traditions, ought to be "the standards of their definitions. The Divines of "Paris held, that a Council could not make a new "article of faith that was not in the Scriptures, "and all Christ's promises to the Church were to "be understood with this condition, *if they kept* "*the faith:* therefore there was great reason to "doubt concerning the authority of a Council; "some of them had contradicted others, and many "others were never received. The Fathers had "always appealed to the Scriptures, as superior in "authority to Councils, by which only all controversies ought to be decided; yet, on the other "hand, it was dangerous to be wise in one's own "conceit; and he thought, when the Fathers all "agreed in the exposition of any place of Scripture, "that ought to be looked on as flowing from the

BOOK I.

1534.

"Spirit of God. He shewed how little regard "was to be had to a Council, in which the Pope "presided, and that if any common error had "passed upon the world, when that came to be "discovered, every one was at liberty to shake it "off, even though they had sworn to maintain that "error: this he applied to the Pope's authority." In conclusion, he promised to entertain them with another discourse of the authority that all Bishops had in their sees, and that Princes had within their dominions. But I could never recover that, and probably it is lost.

The state of England.

This was the state of the Court after King Henry had shaken off the Pope's power, and assumed a supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs. The nobility and gentry were generally well satisfied with the change; but the body of the people was more under the power of the priests; and they studied to infuse in them great fears of a change in religion. It was said the King was now joining himself to heretics; that both the Queen, Cranmer, and Cromwell, favoured them. It was left free to dispute what were articles of faith, and what were only the decrees of Popes; and changes would be made under this pretence, that they only rejected those opinions which were supported by the Papal authority. The Monks and Friars saw themselves left at the King's mercy. Their bulls could be no longer useful to them. The trade of new saints, or indulgences, was now at an end; they had also some intimations that Cromwell was forming a project for suppressing them; so they thought it necessary for their own preservation to embroil the King's affairs as much as was possible: therefore, both in confessions and discourses, they were infusing into the people a dislike of the King's proceedings; and this did so far work on them, that if the Emperor's affairs had been in such a condition, that he could have made war on the King, he might have done it with great advantage, and found a strong party in England on his side. But the practices of the Clergy at home, and of Cardinal Pole abroad, the

BOOK I.

1534.

libels that were published, and the rebellions that were afterwards raised in England, wrought so much on the King's temper, that was naturally imperious and boisterous that he became too apt to commit acts of the highest severity, and to bring his subjects into trouble upon the slightest grounds; and his new title of Head of the Church seemed to have increased his former vanity, and made him fancy that all his subjects were bound to regulate their belief by the measures he set them. He had now reigned twenty-five years; in all which time none had suffered for crimes against the state, but Pole Earl of Suffolk, and Stafford Duke of Buckingham; (the former was executed in obedience to his father's last commands; the latter fell by Cardinal Wolsey's malice; he had also been inveigled by a priest to imagine he had a right to the crown;) but in the last ten years of his life, instances of severity returned more frequently. The Bishops and Abbots did what they could to free the King of any jealousies that might be raised in him concerning them: and of their own accord, before any law was made about it, they swore to maintain the King's supremacy. The first act of it was the making Cromwell Vicar General, and visitor of all the monasteries and churches of England with a delegation of the King's supremacy to him: he was also empowered to give commissions subaltern to himself; and all wills, where the estate was in value above two hundred pounds, were to be proved in his court. This was afterwards enlarged, and he was made the King's Vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters, and had the precedence of all next the royal family; and his authority was in all points the same that the Legates had in time of Popery: for as the Kings came in the Pope's room, so the Vicegerent was what the Legates had been Pains were taken to engage all the Clergy to declare for the supremacy. At Oxford a public determination was made, to which every member assented, that the Pope had no more authority in England than any other foreign Bishop. The Franciscans at

1535.

Richmond made some more opposition; they said, by the rule of St. Francis, they were bound to obey the holy see. The Bishop of Litchfield told them, that all the Bishops in England, all the Heads of houses, and the most learned Divines had signed that proposition. St. Francis made his rule in Italy, where the Bishop of Rome was Metropolitan; but that ought not to extend to England: and it was shewed that the chapter cited by them was not written by him, but added since; yet they continued positive in their refusal to sign it.

A general visitation proposed.

It was well known that all the Monks and Friars, though they complied with the time, yet they hated this new power of the King's; the people were also startled at it; so one Dr. Leighton, that had been in the Cardinal's service with Cromwell, proposed a general visitation of all the religious houses in England; and thought that nothing would reconcile the nation so much to the King's supremacy, as to see some good effect flow from it. Others thought this was too hardy a step, and that it would provoke the religious orders too much. Yet it was known that they were guilty of such disorders, that nothing could so effectually keep them in awe as the enquiring into these. Cranmer led the way to this by a metropolitical visitation, for which he obtained the King's licence; he took care to see that the Pope's name was struck out of all the Offices of the Church, and that the King's supremacy was generally acknowledged.

Instructions and injunctions for it.

In October the general visitation of the monasteries was begun; which was cast into several precincts: instructions were given them, directing them what things to enquire after; as, whether the houses had the full number according to their foundation, and if they performed divine worship in the appointed hours; what exemptions they had, what were their statutes? how their heads were chosen? and how their vows were observed? whether they lived according to the severities of their orders? how the master and other officers did their duties? how their lands and their revenues were managed?

BOOK I. — 1535.

what hospitality was kept? and what care was taken of the novices? what benefices were in their gift, and how they disposed of them? how the inclosures of the nunneries were kept? whether the Nuns went abroad, or if men were admitted to come to them? how they employed their time, and what priests they had for their confessors? They were also ordered to give them some injunctions in the King's name, that they should acknowledge his supremacy, and maintain the act of succession, and declare all to be absolved from any rules or oaths that bound them to obey the Pope; and that all their statutes tending to that should be rased out of their books: that the Abbots should not have choice dishes, but plain tables for hospitality; and that the Scriptures should be read at meals; that they should have daily lectures of divinity, and maintain some of every house at the University. The Abbots were required to instruct the Monks in true religion, and to shew them that it did not consist in outward ceremonies, but in cleanness of heart, and purity of life, and the worshipping of God in spirit and truth. Rules were given about their revenues, and against admitting any under twenty years of age. The visitors were empowered to punish offenders, or to bring them to answer before the Visitor General.

The state of the monasteries in England.

What the ancient British Monks were is not well known; whether they were governed according to the rules of the Monks of Egypt or France, is matter of conjecture. They were in all things obedient to their Bishops, as all the Monks of the primitive times were. But, upon the confusions which the Gothic war brought upon Italy, Benedict set up a new order with more artificial rules for its government. Not long after, Gregory the Great raised the credit of that order much, by his books of Dialogues; and Austin the Monk being sent by him to convert England, did found a monastery at Canterbury, that carried his name, which both the King and Austin exempted from the Archbishop's jurisdiction. But there is great

reason to suspect that most of those ancient charters were forged. After that, many other abbeys were founded and exempted by the Kings of England, if credit is due to the leger-books or chartularies of the monasteries. In the end of the eighth century the Danes made descents upon England, and finding the most wealth and the least resistance in the monasteries, they generally plundered them, insomuch that the Monks were forced to quit their seats, and they left them to the secular Clergy; so that in King Edgar's time there was scarce a Monk left in all England. He was a lewd and cruel prince; and Dunstan and other Monks, taking advantage from some horrors of conscience that he fell under, persuaded him that the restoring the monastic state would be matter of great merit; so he converted many of the chapters into monasteries; and by the foundation of the priory of Worcester, it appears he had then founded forty-seven, and intended to raise them to fifty, the number of pardons; though the invention of jubilees being so much later gives occasion to believe this was also a forgery. He only exempted his monasteries from all payments to the Bishops; but others were exempted from episcopal jurisdiction. In some only the precinct was exempted, in other the exemption was extended to all the lands or churches belonging to them. The latest exemption from episcopal jurisdiction granted by any King, is that of Battle, founded by William the Conqueror: after this the exemptions were granted by the Popes, who, pretending to an universal jurisdiction, assumed this among other usurpations. Some abbeys had also the privilege of being sanctuaries to all that fled to them. The foundation of all their wealth was the belief of purgatory, and of the virtue that was in masses to redeem souls out of it; and that these eased the torments of departed souls, and at last delivered them out of them; so it passed among all for a piece of piety to parents, and of care for their own souls and families, to endow those houses with some lands, upon condition that they should have

BOOK I.

1535.

masses said for them, as it was agreed on more or less, frequently according to the measure of the gift. This was like to have drawn in the whole wealth of the nation into those houses, if the statute of mortmain had not put some restraint to that superstition. They also persuaded the world, that the saints interceded for them, and would take it kindly at their hands, if they made great offerings to their shrines, and would thereupon intercede the more earnestly for them. The credulous vulgar, measuring the court of heaven by those on earth, believed presents might be of great efficacy there, and thought the new favourites would have the most weight in their intercessions: so upon every new canonization there was a new fit of devotion towards the last saint, which made the elder to grow almost out of request. Some images were believed to have an extraordinary virtue in them, and pilgrimages to these were much extolled. There was also great rivalry among the several orders, and different houses of the same orders, every one magnifying their own saints, their images and relics, most. The wealth of these houses brought them under great corruptions. They were generally very dissolute, and grossly ignorant. Their privileges were become a public grievance, and their lives gave great scandal to the world: so that as they had found it easy to bear down the secular Clergy, when their own vices were more secret; the begging Friars found it as easy to carry the esteem of the world from them. These, under the appearance of poverty, and coarse diet and clothing, gained much esteem, and became almost the only preachers and confessors then in the world. They had a general at Rome, from whom they received such directions as the Popes sent them; so that they were more useful to the Papacy than the Monks had been. They had also the school learning in their hands, so that they were generally much cherished. But they living much in the world could not conceal their vices so artificially as the Monks had done; and though several reformations

BOOK I.

1535.

had been made of their orders, yet they had all fallen under great scandal, and a general disesteem. The King intended to erect new bishoprics; and in order to that it was necessary to make use of some of their revenues. He also apprehended a war from the Emperor, and for that end he intended to fortify his harbours, and to encourage shipping and trade; upon which the balance of the world began then to turn: and in order to that he resolved to make use of the wealth of those houses, and thought the best way to bring that into his hands, would be to expose their vices, that so they might quite lose the esteem they might yet be in with some, and so it might be less dangerous to suppress them. Cranmer promoted this much, both because these houses were founded on gross abuses, and subsisted by them; and these were necessary to be removed, if a reformation went on. The extent of many dioceses was also such, that one man could not oversee them; so he intended to have more bishoprics founded, and to have houses at every cathedral for the education of those who should be employed in the pastoral charge. The visitors went over England, and found in many places monstrous disorders. The sin of Sodom was found in many houses; great factions and barbarous cruelties were in others; and in some they found tools for coining. The report contained many abominable things, that are not fit to be mentioned; some of these were printed, but the greatest part is lost; only a report of one hundred and forty-four houses is yet extant.

Some houses surrendered.

The first house that was surrendered to the King was Langden, in Kent; the Abbot was found in bed with a whore, who went in the habit of a lay-brother; this perhaps made him more willing to give an example to the rest; so he and ten of his Monks signed a resignation of their house to the King. Two other houses in the same county, Folkstone and Dover, followed their example. And in the following year, four other houses made

BOOK I. the like surrender; and these were all that I find before the act of parliament passed, for suppressing the lesser monasteries.

1536. Queen Catharine's death.

Queen Catharine was put to much trouble for keeping the title, Queen; but bore it resolutely, and said, that since the Pope had judged that her marriage was good, she would die, rather than do any thing in prejudice of it. Her sufferings begat compassion in the people; and all the superstitious Clergy supported her interests zealously. But now her troubles ended with her life. She desired to be buried among the Observant Friars; for they had suffered most for her. She ordered five hundred masses to be said for her soul; and that one of her women should go a pilgrimage to our Lady of Walsingham, and give two hundred nobles, on her way, to the poor. When she found death coming on her, as she wrote to the Emperor, recommending her daughter to his care, so she wrote to the King with this inscription, *My dear Lord, King, and Husband.* She forgave him all the injuries he had done her, and wished him to have regard to his soul. She recommended her daughter to his care, and desired him to be kind to her three maids, and to pay her servants a year's wages; and ended thus, *Mine eyes desire you above all things.* She died on the eighth of January, at Kimbolton, in the fiftieth year of her age, thirty-three years after she came to England. She was a devout and exemplary woman: she used to work with her own hands, and kept her women at work with her. The severities and devotions that were known to her priests, and her alms-deeds, joined to the troubles she fell in, begat a high esteem of her in all sorts of people. The King complained often of her peevishness; but that was perhaps to be imputed as much to the provocations he gave her, as to the sourness of her temper. He ordered her to be buried in the abbey of Peterborough, and was somewhat touched with her death. But Queen Anne did not carry this so decently as became a happy rival.

BOOK I.

1536. In Parliament, the lesser monasteries suppressed.

In February a Parliament met, after a prorogation of fourteen months. The act impowering thirty-two to revise the ecclesiastical laws was confirmed; but no time was limited for finishing it; so it had no effect. The chief business of this session was the suppressing of the monasteries under two hundred pounds a year. The report the visitors made was read in the two Houses, and disposed them to great easiness in this matter. The act sets forth the great disorders of those houses, and the many unsuccessful attempts that had been made to reform them; so the religious that were in them were ordered to be put into the greater houses, where religion was better observed, and the revenues of them were given to the King. Those houses were much richer than they seemed to be; for an abuse that had run over Europe, of keeping the rents of the Church at their first rates, and, instead of raising them, the exacting great fines for the incumbent, when the leases were renewed, was so gross in those houses, that some rated but at two hundred pounds were in real value worth many thousands. By another act, a new court was erected, with the title of *The Court of the Augmentations of the King's Revenue*, consisting of a chancellor, a treasurer, ten auditors, seventeen receivers, besides other officers. The King was also empowered to make new foundations of such of those houses now suppressed as he pleased, which were in all three hundred and seventy, and so this Parliament, after six years continuance, was now dissolved.

A translation of the Bible designed.

A Convocation sate at this time, in which a motion was made for translating the Bible into English, which had been promised when Tindall's translation was condemned, but was afterwards laid aside by the Clergy, as neither necessary nor expedient: so it was said, that those whose office it was to teach people the Word of God did all they could to suppress it. Moses, the Prophets, and the Apostles, wrote in the vulgar tongue: Christ directed the people to search the Scriptures; and as-

BOOK I. 1536.

soon as any nation was converted to the Christian religion, the Bible was translated into their language; nor was it ever taken out of the hands of the people, till the Christian religion was so corrupted, that it was not safe to trust them with such a book, which would have so manifestly discovered those errors; and the Legends, as agreeing better with those abuses, were read instead of the Word of God. So Cranmer looked on the putting the Bible in the people's hands, as the most effectual means for promoting the Reformation; and therefore moved, that the King might be prayed to give order for it. But Gardiner, and all the other party, opposed this vehemently. They said, all the extravagant opinions then in Germany rose from the indiscreet use of the Scriptures. Some of those opinions were at this time disseminated in England, both against the divinity and incarnation of Christ, and the usefulness of the Sacraments, for which nineteen Hollanders had been burnt in England the former year. It was therefore said, that during these distractions the use of the Scriptures would prove a great snare: so it was proposed that, instead of them, there might be some short exposition of the Christian religion put in the people's hands, which might keep them in a certain subjection to the King and the Church: but it was carried in the Convocation for the affirmative. At Court, men were much divided in this point; some said, if the King gave way to it, he would never be able after that to govern his people, and that they would break into many divisions. But on the other hand, it was said, that nothing would make the difference between the Pope's power and the King's supremacy appear more eminently, than if the one gave the people the free use of the Word of God; whereas the other had kept them in darkness, and ruled them by a blind obedience. It would be also a great mean to extinguish the interest that either the Pope or the Monks had in England, to put the Bible in the people's hands, in which it would appear, that the world had been

long deceived by their impostures, which had no foundation in the Scriptures. These reasons, joined with the interest that the Queen had in the King, prevailed so far with him, that he gave order for setting about this with all possible haste; and within three years the impression of it was finished. At this time the King was in some treaty with the German princes, not only for a league in temporal concerns, but likewise in matters of religion. The King thought the Germans should have in all things submitted to him; and the opinion he had of his own learning, which was perhaps heightened a little with his new title of *Head of the Church*, made him expect, that they should in all points comply with him. Gardiner was then his ambassador in France, and dissuaded him much from any religious league with them, as that which would alienate the world abroad, and his people at home, from him.

Q. Anne's fall.

The Popish party saw the interest the Queen had in him was the great obstacle of their designs: she grew not only in the King's esteem, but in the love of the nation. The last nine months of her life she gave above fourteen thousand pounds in alms to the poor, and was much set on doing good. Soon after Queen Catharine's death, she bore a dead son, which was believed to have made some impression on the King's mind. It was also considered, that now, Queen Catharine being dead, the King might marry another, and be set right again with the Pope and the Emperor: and the issue by any other marriage would never be questioned; whereas, while Queen Anne lived, the ground of the controversy still remained, and her issue would be illegitimated, her marriage being null from the beginning, as they thought. With these reasons of state the King's affections joined, for he was now in love with Jane Seymour, whose humour was tempered in a mean, between the gravity of Queen Catharine, and the pleasantness of Queen Anne. The poor Queen used all possible arts to reinflame a dying affection; but the King was

BOOK I.

1536.

changed, and instead of being wrought on by her caresses, he came to look on them as artifices to cover some other criminal affection. Her cheerfulness was not always governed with decency and discretion: and her brother's wife being jealous of her husband and her, possessed the King with her own apprehensions, and filled his head with many stories. Norris, Weston, and Brereton, the King's servants, and Smeton a musician, were observed to be particularly officious about her. Somewhat was pretended to have been sworn by the Lady Wyngfield at her death, that determined the King; but there is little light left to judge of that matter.

May 1. The King was at justs at Greenwich, where it was reported, that he was displeased with the Queen, for letting her handkerchief fall to one for wiping his face; but this seems to be a fiction: for a Parliament was summoned the day before that, and then it was resolved to destroy her. The King left her, upon which she was confined to her chamber, and the five before mentioned were seized on, and sent to the Tower, and the next day she was carried thither. On the river, some privy counsellors came to examine her; but she made deep protestations of her innocence; and as she landed at the Tower, she fell down on her knees, and prayed God so to assist her, as she was free of the crimes laid to her charge. After this she fell into fits of the mother; sometimes she laughed, and at other times she wept excessively: she was also devout and light by turns; and sometimes she stood upon her vindication, and at other times she confessed some indiscretions, which she afterwards denied. All the people about her made the most of every word that fell from her, and sent it immediately to Court. The others, that were imprisoned on her account, denied every thing, only Smeton confessed lewdness with her. The Duke of Norfolk, and others that came to examine her, made her believe that both Norris and Smeton had accused her; but though that was false, yet it had this effect on her, that it made her confess that

which did totally alienate the King from her. She acknowledged that she had rallied Norris, that he waited for the King's death, and then thought to have her, which though he denied, yet upon that she fell out with him. She denied that Smeton was ever in her chamber, but once when he came to play on the virginals. She insinuated as if he had made love to her; for seeing him one day pensive, she told him he must not expect that she should talk to him, since he was so mean a person; and he answered, a look would serve him. She also said Weston had seemed jealous of Norris, for being oft in her chamber, and had declared love to her; upon which she defied him. Whether these confessions were real truths, or the effects of imagination and vapours, cannot be certainly determined at this distance. It is probable there had been some levities in her carriage that were not becoming.

All the Court was now turned against her, and she had no friend about the King but Cranmer; and therefore her enemies procured an order for him not to come to Court: yet he put all to hazard, and wrote the King a long letter upon this critical juncture: "He acknowledged that if the things "reported of the Queen were true, it was the "greatest affliction that ever befel the King, and "therefore exhorted him to bear it with pa- "tience and submission to the will of God: he "confessed he never had a better opinion of any "woman than of her; and that, next the King, he "was more bound to her than to all persons living; "and therefore he begged the King's leave to "pray that she might be found innocent: he "loved her not a little, because of the love which "she seemed to bear to God, and his Gospel; "but if she was guilty, all that loved the Gospel "must hate her, as having given the greatest "slander possible to the Gospel; but he prayed "the King not to entertain any prejudice to the "Gospel on her account, nor give the world reason "to say, that his love to it was founded on the "power that she had with him." The King's jea-

1536. May 12. lousy was now too deeply rooted to admit of any cure, but an extreme one: the indictments were laid in the counties of Kent and Middlesex, the former relating to what was done in Greenwich. Smeton pleaded Guilty, and confessed he had known the Queen carnally three times; the rest pleaded Not Guilty; but they were all condemned.

May 15. Her trial. Three days after that, the Queen and her brother (who was then a Peer) were tried before the Duke of Norfolk, as High Steward, and a Court of twenty-seven Peers. It has been often given out to defame her the more, that her own father sate and condemned her: but the record of the attainder shews that is false, for he was not of the number. The crime charged on her was, that she had procured her brother and four others to lie with her; and had often said to them, that the King never had her heart; and this was to the slander of the issue begotten between the King and her, which was treason by the act that confirmed her marriage: so that act that was made for the marriage was now turned on her to ruin her. They would not now acknowledge her the King's lawful wife, and therefore they did not found the treason on the known statute 25th Edward III. It does not appear what evidence was brought against her; for Smeton being already condemned could not be made use of; and his never being brought face to face against her, gave great suspicion that he was persuaded to confess by base practices. The evidence, as appears by Spelman's account of it, that was then a judge, was only the declaration of a dead woman; but whether that was forged or real, can never be known till the great day discovers it. The judgment, in case of treason, for a woman, is burning; but it was given either for that, or beheading, at the King's pleasure. The judges complained of this as contrary to law; but there was a secret reason for it, into which they did not penetrate. The Earl of Northumberland was one of the judges: he had been once in love with the Queen; and either some return of that, or some other accident,

1536.

made that he fell suddenly so ill, that he could not stay out the trial; for after the Queen was judged, he went out of the court before her brother was tried, who was condemned upon the same evidence. Yet all this did not satisfy the enraged King; he resolved to illegitimate his daughter, and, in order to that, to annul his marriage with the Queen. It was remembered that the Earl of Northumberland had said to Cardinal Wolsey, that he had engaged himself so far with her, that he could not go back, which was perhaps done by some promise conceived in words of the future tense; but no promise, unless in the words of the present tense, could annul the subsequent marriage. Perhaps the Queen did not understand that difference; or, probably, the fear of so terrible a death as burning wrought so much on her, that she confessed a contract; but the Earl denied it positively, and took the Sacrament upon it, wishing that it might turn to his damnation, if there was ever either contract or promise of marriage between them. She was secretly carried to Lambeth, and confessed a precontract, upon which her marriage with the King was judged null from the beginning; yet this was so little known at that time, that Spelman writes of it as a thing only talked of, but it was published in the next Parliament. These two sentences contradicted one another; for if she was never the King's wife, she could not be guilty of adultery, for there could be no breach of the faith of wedlock, if they were never truly married. But the King was resolved both to be rid of her, and to declare his daughter by her a bastard.

Her execution.

When she had intimations given her to prepare for death, among other things she reflected on her carriage to Lady Mary, to whom she had been too severe a step-mother: so she made one of her women sit down, and she fell on her knees before her, and charged her to go to Lady Mary, and in that posture, and in her name, to ask her forgiveness for all she had done against her. This tenderness of conscience seemed to give much credit to

BOOK I.

1536.

the continual protestations of her innocence, which she made to the last. The day before her death, she sent her last message to the King, asserting her innocence, recommending her daughter to his care, and thanking him for his advancing her, first to be a Marchioness, then to be a Queen, and now, when he could raise her no higher on earth, for sending her to be a saint in heaven. The day she died, the Lieutenant of the Tower wrote to Cromwell, that it was not fit to publish the time of her execution, for the fewer that were present, it would be the better; since he believed she would declare her innocence at the hour of her death; for that morning she had made great protestations of it, when she received the Sacrament, and seemed to long for death, and had great joy and pleasure in it: she was glad to hear the executioner was good, for she said she had a very short neck, at which she laughed heartily. A little before noon she was brought to the place of execution; there were present some of the chief officers and great men of the Court: she was, it seems, prevailed on, out of regard to her daughter, to make no reflections on the hard measure she met with, nor to say any thing touching the grounds on which sentence passed against her, only she desired that all would judge the best. She commended the King highly, and so took her leave of the world: she was for some time in her private devotions, and concluded, "To Christ I commend my soul;" upon which the executioner, who was brought from Calais on that occasion, cut off her head; and so little regard was had to her body, that it was put in a chest of elm-tree, made to send arrows into Ireland, and was buried in the chapel in the Tower. Norris was much dealt with to accuse her, and his life was promised him if he would do it; but he said he knew she was innocent, and would die a thousand times rather than defame her: so he and the other three were beheaded, and all of them continued to the last to vindicate her. Smeton was hanged, and

BOOK I.

it was said, that he retracted all before he died; but of that there is no certainty.

1536. Censures passed upon it.

When this was done, it was very variously censured. The Popish party observed, that she who had supplanted Queen Catharine did now meet with harder measure: her faint way of speaking concerning her innocence at last was judged too high a compliment to the King in a dying woman, and shewed more regard to her daughter than to her own honour; yet she wrote a letter to the King, in so high a strain both of wit and natural eloquence, in her own justification, that it may be reckoned one of the best composed pieces of that time. In her carriage, it seems, there were some freedoms that became not her quality, and had encouraged those unfortunate persons to make some addresses to her, which is never done when there is such difference of conditions, without some encouragement is first given. It was said on the other hand, that the King, of all men, had the least reason to suspect her, since, after six years courtship, he gained nothing from her before he married her: but the particulars she confessed gave much matter for jealousy, especially in so violent a man to work upon; and so it was no wonder if it transported him out of measure. Others condemned Cranmer as too obsequious for passing the sentence annulling the marriage: yet when she came and confessed a pre-contract, he could not avoid the giving sentence upon it. All that hated the Reformation insulted, and said, it now appeared how bad that cause was which was supported by such a patron. But it was answered, that her faults could not reflect on those who, being ignorant of them, had desired her protection. Gregory the Great had courted and magnified Phocas and Brunichild, after he knew their villainies; and Irene, after her barbarous cruelties, was not a little extolled for her zeal in the matter of images. It has seemed strange to some, that during her daughter's long and glorious reign, none wrote in vindication of her mother, which officious courtiers are apt to do often

BOOK I. 1536.

without any good grounds; so that silence was made an argument of her guilt, and that she could not be defended. But perhaps that was an effect of the wisdom of the ministers of that time, who would not suffer so nice a point, upon which the Queen's legitimation depended, to be brought into dispute. The day after Anne Boleyn's death, the King married Jane Seymour, who gained more upon him than all his wives ever did: but she was happy that she did not outlive his love to her.

Lady Mary's submission to the King.

Lady Mary was advised, upon this turn of affairs, to make her submission to the King: she offered to confess the fault of her former obstinacy, and, in general, to give up her understanding entirely to the King; but that would not satisfy, unless she would be more particular; so at last she was prevailed with, to do it in the fullest terms that could be desired: "she acknowledged the King to be "the supreme head on earth, under Christ, of the "Church of England, and did renounce the Bishop "of Rome's authority, and promised in all things "to be obedient to the laws that were made: "which, she said, flowed from her inward belief "and judgment, and in which she would for ever "continue; and she did also acknowledge that the "King's marriage with her mother was by God's "law and man's law unlawful and incestuous." All this she wrote with her own hand, and subscribed it; upon which she was again received into favour; and an establishment was made for a family about her, in which forty pounds a quarter was all the allowance for her privy purse, so great was the frugality of that time. Lady Elizabeth continued to be educated with great care, and was so forward, that before she was four years old she both wrote a good hand, and understood Italian; for there are letters extant written by her in that language to Queen Jane, when she was with child, in which she subscribed, *Daughter*.

A Parliament meets.

On the 8th of June the Parliament met, which shews that it was summoned before the justs at Greenwich. The Chancellor told them, that the

King had called them to settle the succession of the crown, in case he should die without children lawfully begotten, and to repeal the act made concerning his marriage with Queen Anne. It seems the Parliament was not at first easily brought to comply with these things; and that it was necessary to take some pains to prepare them to it. For the bill of succession was not put in till the 30th of June, but then it was quickly dispatched without any opposition: "By it the attainder of Queen "Anne and her complices is confirmed; both the "sentences of divorces passed upon the King's two "former marriages were also confirmed; and the "issue by both was illegitimated, and for ever excluded from claiming the Crown by lineal descent; "and the succession was established on the King's "issue by his present Queen, or any whom he "might afterwards marry. But it not being fit to "declare who should succeed in default of that, "lest the person so named might be thereby enabled to raise commotions, in confidence of the "King's wisdom, and affection to his people, "they left it to him to nominate his successors, "either by letters patent, or by his last will signed "by his hand, and promised to obey the persons "so nominated by him. It was declared treason to "maintain the lawfulness of his former marriages, "or of his issue by them; and it was made not "only treason, but a forfeiture of the right of succession, if any of those whom the King should "name, in default of others, should endeavour to "get before them." The Scots complained of this act, and said, their Queen Dowager, being King Henry's eldest sister, could not be put by her right, after the King's lawful issue. But by this the King was now made master indeed, and had the Crown put entirely in his hands, to be disposed of at his pleasure; and his daughters were now to depend wholly on him. He had it also in his power, in a great measure, to pacify the Emperor, by providing, that his kinswoman might succeed to the Crown.

BOOK I.

1536.

BOOK I.

1536. Pope Paul the Third proposes a reconciliation with the King.

Pope Clement the Seventh was now dead, and Farnese succeeded by the name of Paul the Third, who, after an unsuccessful attempt, which he made for reconciling himself with the King, when that was rejected, and Fisher was beheaded, thundered out a most terrible sentence of deposition against him: yet now, since both Queen Catharine and Queen Anne, upon whose account the breach was made, were out of the way, he thought it a fit time to try what might be done; and ordered Cassali to let the King know, that he had always favoured his cause when he was a Cardinal; that he was driven very much against his mind to pass sentence against him; and that now it would be easy for him to recover the favour of the Apostolic see.

Acts against the Pope's power.

But the King, instead of hearkening to the proposition, got two acts to be passed; "the one was "for the utter extinguishing the Pope's authority; "and it was made a *præmunire* for any to acknow-"ledge it, or to persuade others to it: and a strict "charge was given to all magistrates, under severe "penalties, to enquire after all offenders. By ano-"ther, all bulls, and all privileges flowing from "them, were declared null and void; only mar-"riages, or consecrations made by virtue of them, "were excepted. All who enjoyed privileges by "these bulls were required to bring them into the "Chancery; upon which the Archbishop was to "make them a new grant of them, and that, being "confirmed under the Great Seal, was to be of full "force in law."

Another act passed, explaining an exception that was in the act for the residence of all incumbents, by which those who were at the Universities were dispensed with; upon which many went and lived idly there. It was therefore now declared, that none above the age of forty, except heads and public readers, should have the benefit of that proviso, and that none under that age should be comprehended in it, except they performed their exercises. Another act passed in favour of the King's heirs, if they should reign before they were of full

BOOK I. — 1536.

age, that they might, any time before they were twenty-four, repeal by letters patent all acts made during their minority. All these things being concluded, the Parliament, after it had sate six weeks, was dissolved.

The Convocation examines some points of religion.

The Convocation sate at the same time, and was much employed: for the House of Lords was oft adjourned, because the spiritual Lords were busy in the Convocation. Latimer preached the Latin sermon: he was the most celebrated preacher of that time; the simplicity of his matter, and his zeal in expressing it, being preferred to more elaborate composures. They first confirmed the sentence of the divorce of the King's marriage with Queen Anne. Then the lower House made an address to the upper House, complaining of sixty-seven opinions that they found were much spread in the kingdom: they were either the tenets of the old Lollards, or the new Reformers, or of the Anabaptists; and many of them were only unsavoury and indiscreet expressions, which might have flowed from the heat and folly of some rash zealots, who by petulant jeers, and an affectation of wit, had endeavoured to disgrace both the received doctrines and rites. They also complained of some Bishops, who were wanting in their duty to suppress such abuses; which was understood as a reflection on Cranmer, Shaxton, and Latimer. It was hoped that Cranmer was now declining by Queen Anne's fall; and the other two who were raised by her would not have stood long, if he had been once disgraced; yet they premised to this a protestation, that they intended to do nothing that might displease the King, whom they acknowledged to be their supreme head; and they were resolved to obey his laws, and they renounced the Pope's authority with all his laws. All these projects failed, for Cranmer was now fully established in the King's favour; and Cromwell was sent to them with a message from the King, that they should reform the rites and ceremonies of the Church, according to the rules set down in Scripture, which ought to

BOOK I.

1536.

be preferred to all glosses or decrees of Popes. There was one Alexander Alane, a Scotchman, whom Cromwell entertained in his house; and he being appointed to deliver his opinion, largely shewed that there were no sacraments instituted by Christ but Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Stokesly answered him in a long discourse upon the principles of the School-divinity; upon which Cranmer took occasion to shew the vanity of that sort of learning, and the uncertainty of tradition; and that religion had been so corrupted in the latter ages, that there was no finding out the truth, but by resting in the authority of the Scriptures. Fox, Bishop of Hereford, seconded him, and told them, the world was now awake, and would be no longer imposed on by the niceties and dark terms of the Schools; for the laity now did not only read the Scriptures in the vulgar tongues, but searched the originals themselves; therefore they must not think to govern them as they had been in the times of ignorance. Among the Bishops, Cranmer, Goodrich, Shaxton, Latimer, Fox, Hilsey, and Barlow, pressed a reformation; but Edward Lee, Archbishop of York, Stokesly, Tonstal, Gardiner, Longland, and several others, opposed it as much: but the contest had been sharper, if the King had not sent some articles to them to be considered of by them; so they whose chief design it was to recommend themselves to preferment by the easiness of their compliance with him in all points, did agree on the following particulars.

Articles of religion agreed on.

"1. That the Bishops and Preachers ought to "instruct the people according to the Scripture, the "three Creeds, and the four first General Councils.

"2. That Baptism was necessary to salvation, "and that children ought to be baptized for the "pardon of original sin, and obtaining the Holy "Ghost.

"3. That penance was necessary to salvation, "and that it consisted in confession, contrition, "and amendment of life, with the external works "of charity, to which a lively faith ought to be

"joined; and that confession to a priest was ne-"cessary where it might be had. BOOK I.

"4. That in the Eucharist, under the forms of "bread and wine, the very flesh and blood of Christ "was received. 1536.

"5. That justification was the remission of sins, "and a perfect renovation in Christ, and that not "only outward good works, but inward holiness "was absolutely necessary. As for the outward "ceremonies, the people were to be taught, that "it was meet to have images in churches, but they "ought to avoid all such superstition as had been "usual in time past, and not to worship the image, "but only God. 2. That they were to honour the "saints, but not to expect those things from them "which God only gives. 3. That they might "pray to them for their intercession; but all su-"perstitious abuses were to cease; and if the King "should lessen the number of saints' days, they "ought to obey him. 4. That the use of the "ceremonies was good, and that they contained "many mystical significations that tended to raise "the mind towards God; such were vestments in "divine worship, holy water, holy bread, the car-"rying of candles, and palms, and ashes, and "creeping to the cross, and the hallowing the font, "with other exorcisms. 5. That it was good to "pray for departed souls, and to have masses "and exequies said for them; but the Scriptures "having neither declared in what place they were, "nor what torments they suffered, that was "uncertain, and to be left to God: therefore "all the abuses of the Pope's pardons, or saying "masses in such or such places, or before such "images, were to be put away." These articles were signed by Cromwell, the two Archbishops, sixteen Bishops, forty Abbots and Priors, and fifty of the Lower House: to them the King added a preface, declaring the pains that he and the Clergy had been at, for the removing the differences in religion that were in the nation, and that he approved of these articles, and required all his sub-

BOOK I.

1536.

jects to accept them with the like unanimity with which they were consented to: and he would be thereby encouraged to take further pains in the like matters for the future.

They are variously censured.

When these things were published, those that desired a reformation, though they did not approve of every particular, yet were well pleased to see things brought under examination; and since some things were at this time changed, they did not doubt but more changes would follow: they were glad that the Scriptures and the ancient Creeds were made the standards of the faith, without adding tradition, and that the nature of justification and the Gospel covenant were rightly stated; that the immediate worship of images and saints was condemned, and that purgatory was left uncertain; but the necessity of auricular confession, and the corporal presence, the doing reverence to images, and praying to saints, were hard of digestion to them: yet they were glad to see some grosser abuses removed, and a reformation once set on foot. The Popish party were sorry to see four sacraments passed over in silence, and the trade about purgatory put down; and were very apprehensive of the precedent of bringing matters of religion under debate, which would bring on other alterations. When these things were known beyond sea, the Court of Rome made great use of them, to let all princes see the necessity of adhering to the holy see; for no sooner did England depart from that, than it began to change the doctrine likewise. The Germans on the other hand said, this was a political daubing, for satisfying all parties; and that it savoured not of the sincerity that became the professors of true religion, to allow of so many errors. To this it was answered, that our Saviour did not deliver all things to his disciples, till they were able to bear them. And the Apostles did not abolish all the rites of Judaism at once, but by a gentle progress intended to wean those that were converted to the Christian religion from them. The Clergy were to be drawn by slow and easy

BOOK I.

1536.

steps out of their ignorance and superstition; whereas the driving on things with precipitated haste might spoil the whole design, and alienate those who by slower methods might be gained; and it might also much endanger the peace of the nation.

Other alterations proposed.

At the same time other things were in consultation, though not finished. Cranmer offered some queries, to shew the cheats that had been put on the world: as, that priestly absolution without contrition was of more efficacy than contrition was without it: and that the people trusted wholly to outward ceremonies; in which the priests encouraged them, because of the gain they made by them: that the exemption of Clergymen was without good ground; that Bishops did ordain without due care and previous trial; and that the dignified Clergy misapplied their revenues, and did not reside on their benefices: he also desired that the other four sacraments might be enquired into. But these things were not at this time taken under any further consideration. It is true, confirmation seems to have been examined: the method in which they made their enquiries was this; the point to be examined was brought under so many heads, in the form of queries; and to these every one gave his answer with his reasons: so I find two papers, the one of Cranmer's, the other of Stokesly's, on this head: the former runs wholly on Scripture authority, and he thinks it was not instituted by Christ, but was done by the Apostles, by that extraordinary effusion of the Holy Ghost, that rested on them: the other founds his opinion for its being a sacrament, on the tradition of the Church; but nothing was determined in this point. Cranmer did at this time offer another paper to the King, exhorting him to proceed to a further reformation, and that nothing should be determined without clear proofs from Scripture; for the departing from that rule had been the occasion of all the errors that had been in the Church. Many things were now acknowledged to be errors, for

BOOK I.

1536.

which some, not long before, had suffered death. He therefore proposed several points to be discussed; as, whether there was a purgatory? whether departed saints ought to be invocated, or tradition be believed? whether images ought to be considered only as representations of history? and whether it was lawful for the Clergy to marry? He prayed the King not to give judgment in these points till he heard them well examined: and for the last, he offered, that if those who would defend the lawfulness of it should not in the opinion of indifferent judges prove their opinion to be true, they should be willing to suffer death; but if they proved it, all that they desired was, that the King would leave them to the liberty which God had allowed them in that matter: but all this was carried no further at this time.

The Pope had issued out a summons for a General Council at Mantua, and had cited the King to it: from this, the King did appeal to a General Council, rightly constituted. So a motion being made by Fox, that the Convocation should deliver their sense in this particular, they drew up a paper, in which they set forth the great good that might follow in a General Council rightly called; but that nothing could be more mischievous, than one called on private malice, according to what Nazianzen observed of the Councils in his time; and they thought neither the Pope, nor any one Prince, had sufficient authority to call one; but that all Princes who had an entire and supreme government over all their subjects, ought to concur to it. This was signed by them all on the 20th of July, and so was the Convocation dismissed. Two days before it brake up, Cromwell was made the King's vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters, of which some account was formerly given.

The King protests against a Council called by the Pope.

Soon after this the King published a long and sharp protestation against the Council summoned by the Pope: he denied that he had any authority to summon any of his subjects: he shewed that the place was neither proper nor safe; and that no

BOOK I. 1536.

good could be expected from any Council in which the Pope presided, since the regulating his power was one of the chief occasions that the world had for a Council: and while Christendom was in such distractions, and the Emperor and the King of France were engaged in war, it was not a fit time for one to be called. The Pope had refused it long, and this conjuncture was chosen, in which the Bishops could not come to it, that so a packed meeting of Italian Bishops might do what they pleased, under the name of a General Council: but the world would be no longer cozened. No credit was due to a Pope's safe conduct, for they had often broken their oaths, as to himself in particular: and notwithstanding his former kindness to that see, they had been for three years stirring up all the Princes in Christendom against him. He protested against all Councils called by the Pope; but declared, he would be ready to concur with other Christian princes for calling one, when it should be convenient; and in the mean while he would maintain all the articles of the faith, and lose his life and crown sooner than suffer any of them to be put down. Three years after this the King made a new protestation to the same effect, when the Council was summoned to meet at Vincenza.

Cardinal Pole writes against the King.

Reginald Pole began at this same time to raise that opposition to the King, which proved so fatal to all his family. He was by his mother descended from the Duke of Clarence, brother to Edward the Fourth, and was by his father likewise the King's near kinsman. To this high quality, there was joined a great sweetness of temper, and a disposition for letters, which the King cherished much, and gave him the deanery of Exeter, and some other preferments, in order to the carrying on of his studies, being resolved to advance him to the highest dignities in the Church. He lived many years both at Paris and Padua. In the latter of these he joined himself to a society of learned men, that gave themselves much to the study of eloquence, and of the Roman authors; among whom

BOOK I. 1536. were Contareno, Bembo, Caraffa, and Sadoletti, all afterwards honoured with the scarlet; but Pole was esteemed the most eloquent of them all. When he was at Paris, he first incurred the King's displeasure, for he refused to join with those whom he employed, in order to the procuring the determinations of the French Universities for the divorce. Yet after that, he came to England, and was present when the Convocation declared the King to be their supreme Head: and it is probable that he joined in it, for he kept his deanery some years after this, which it is not likely would have been granted him, if he had not done that. The King suffered him after that to go beyond sea, but could never draw him over again. Some time afterwards, he wrote plainly to the King, that he condemned both his divorce, and his separation from the Apostolic see. The King upon that sent him a book wrote by Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, in defence of these things; and that set him on writing his book, *De Unione Ecclesiastica*, which was printed this year. It was full of sharp reflections on the King, whom he compared to Nebuchadnezzar: it tended much to depress the regal, and to exalt the papal authority. And in conclusion, he addressed himself to the Emperor, praying him, rather to turn his arms against the King, than the Turk. It was very eloquently wrote; but there was little learning or reasoning in it; and it was full of indecencies in the language, that he bestowed not only on Sampson, but on the King. The King required him to come over; but that was not to be expected, after he had made such a step. So he divested him of all his dignities; but that recommended him to a Cardinal's hat. Stokesly and Tonstal wrote him a long and learned letter, in the King's vindication. Gardiner wrote also his book *De vera Obedientia;* to which Bonner prefixed a vehement preface against the Pope's power, and for justifying the King's supremacy. The King's anger at Pole could not reach him, but it fell heavy on his kindred.

BOOK I.

1536.

The lesser monasteries seized on.

Visitors were appointed to survey all the lesser monasteries: they were required to carry along with them the concurrence of the gentry near them, and to examine the estate of their revenues and goods, and take inventories of them; and to take their seals into their keeping: they were to try how many of the religious would take capacities, and return to a secular course of life; and these were to be sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Lord Chancellor for them; and an allowance was to be given them for their journey: but those who intended to continue in that state were to be sent to some of the great monasteries that lay next. A pension was also to be assigned to the Abbot, or Prior, during life: and of all this they were to make their report by Michaelmas; and they were particularly to examine what leases had been made all the last year. The Abbots hearing of what was coming on them, had been raising all the money they could; and so it was intended to recover what was made away by ill bargains. There were great complaints made of the proceedings of the visitors, of their violences and briberies; and perhaps not without reason. Ten thousand of the religious were set to seek for their livings, with forty shillings and a gown a man. Their goods and plate were estimated at one hundred thousand pounds, and the valued rents of their houses was thirty-two thousand pounds; but was really above ten times so much. The churches and cloisters were in most places pulled down, and the materials sold.

Which gave a general discontent.

This gave a general discontent, and the Monks were now as much pitied, as they were formerly hated. It was thought strange to see the King devour what his ancestors had dedicated to the honour of God and his saints. The nobility and gentry, who provided for their younger children, or friends, by putting them in those sanctuaries, were sensible of their loss. The people who had been fed at the Abbots' tables, and, as they travelled over the country, found the abbeys to be

BOOK I.

1536.

places of reception to strangers, saw what they were to lose. But the more superstitious, who thought their friends must now lie still in purgatory, without that relief which the masses procured them, were out of measure offended at these proceedings. The books that were published of the disorders in these houses had no great effect on the people: for it was said, there was no reason to destroy whole houses for the sake of some vicious persons, who ought to have been driven out of them and punished. But to remove this general discontent, Cromwell advised the King to sell these lands at very easy rates to the nobility and gentry, and to oblige them to keep up the wonted hospitality. This would both be grateful to them, and would engage them to assist the Crown in the maintenance of the changes that had been made, since their own interests would be interwoven with the rights of the Crown; and the commoner sort, whose grudges lay chiefly in their stomachs, for the want of the good dinners they used to find, would be easily pacified if these were still kept up. And upon a clause in the act, impowering the King to found anew such houses as he should think fit, there were fifteen monasteries and sixteen nunneries new founded. It seems these had been more regular than the rest; so that for a while they were reprieved, till the general suppression came, that they fell with the rest. They were bound to obey such rules as the King should send them; and to pay him tenths and first-fruits. But all this did not so pacify the people, but there was still a great outcry. The Clergy studied much to inflame the nation, and built much on this, that an heretical prince, deposed by the Pope, was no more to be acknowledged; which had been for five hundred years received as an article of faith, and was decreed in the same Council that established transubstantiation; and had been received and carried down from Gregory the Seventh's time, who pretended, that it was a part of the papal power to depose Kings, and give away their dominions, and it had

been oft put in practice in almost all the parts of Europe, and some that had been raisers of great seditions had been canonized for it. The Pope had summoned the King to appear at Rome, and answer for putting away his Queen, and taking another wife, for the laws he had made against the Church, and for putting the Bishop of Rochester and others to death, for their not obeying them: if he did not appear, nor reform these things, he excommunicated and deprived him, absolved his subjects from their obedience, dissolved his leagues with foreign Princes, and put the kingdom under an interdict. But though the force of these thunders was in this age much abated, yet they had not quite lost their strength, and the Clergy resolved to make the most of them that could be.

BOOK I. 1536.

Injunctions given by the King.

Some injunctions which were given by Cromwell increased this ill disposition. They were to this effect: all Churchmen were required every Sunday, for a quarter of a year, and twice every quarter after that, to preach against the Pope's power, and assert the King's supremacy, and to explain the articles lately set forth by the Convocation, and to publish the abrogation of some holy-days in harvest-time: they were no more to extol images, relics, or pilgrimages, but to exhort the people to do works of charity instead of them; and they were required to teach the people the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, in English, and to explain these carefully, and instruct the children well in them. They were to perform the divine offices reverently, and to have good curates to supply their rooms when they were absent. They were charged not to go to alehouses, or sit too long at games; but to study the Scriptures much, and be exemplary in their lives; those that did not reside were to give the fortieth part of their income to the poor, and for every 100*l.* a year that any had, they were to maintain a scholar at some grammar-school, or the university; and if the parsonage-house was in decay, they were ordered to apply a fifth part of their benefice for

BOOK I.

1536.

repairing it. Such as did not obey these injunctions were to be suspended, and their mean profits were to be sequestered. The Clergy detested this precedent of the King's giving injunctions without the concurrence of a Convocation, and by which, they said, they should be made slaves to his Vicegerent: they also complained of those heavy taxes that were laid on them, and that images, relics, and pilgrimages, would be now brought under great contempt. Both the secular and regular Clergy were so sensibly concerned in these things, that they inflamed the people all they could. The great Abbots were not wanting for their share to set that on; they were now oppressed with the crowds of those who were sent to them from the suppressed houses, and they expected to fall next; nor were their fears removed by a letter that was sent about in the King's name for silencing all reports that were given out, of his intentions to suppress them; this rather increased than lessened their jealousy.

A rebellion in Lincolnshire.

The people continued quiet till they had reaped their harvest; but in the beginning of October, twenty thousand rose in Lincolnshire, led by a priest disguised into a cobler. They took an oath to be true to God, the King, and the commonwealth, and sent a paper of their grievances to the King. "They complained of some acts of parliament, of "the suppressing of many religious houses, of mean "and ill counsellors, and bad Bishops; and prayed "the King to redress their grievances by the advice "of the nobility; but yet they acknowledged him "to be their supreme head, and that the tenths "and first-fruits of livings belonged to him of "right." The King sent the Duke of Suffolk to raise forces against them, and give an answer to their petition. "He said it belonged not to the "rabble to direct princes what counsellors they "should choose. The religious houses were sup- "pressed by law, and the heads of them had under "their hands confessed such horrid scandals, that "they were a reproach to the nation; and since in

"many of them there were not above four, and "that they wasted their rents in riotous living, it "was much better to apply them to the common "good of the nation, than leave them in such "hands. He required them to submit to his mercy, "and to put two hundred of their leaders into the "hands of his lieutenants." The Clergy having brought so many together, did all they could to put heat and spirit in them; they persuaded them, that if they did not maintain their faith and their liberties, both would be lost. Some of the gentry were forced to join with them for their own preservation; and they sent advices to the Duke of Suffolk, to procure from the King the offer of a general pardon, which would effectually dissipate them.

Another in Yorkshire.

At the same time there was a more formidable rising in Yorkshire, which being in the neighbourhood of Scotland, was like to draw assistance from that kingdom; though their King was then gone into France to marry Francis's daughter: this inclined the King to make more haste to settle matters in Lincolnshire; he sent them secret assurances of mercy, which wrought on the greatest part; so they dispersed themselves, and the most obstinate went over to them in Yorkshire. The cobler and some others were taken and executed. The distance that those in the North were at from the Court gave them time to rise, and form themselves into some method: one Ask commanded in chief, and performed his part with great dexterity; their march was called *The Pilgrimage of Grace;* they had in their banners, and on their sleeves, the five wounds of Christ; they took an oath, that they would restore the Church, suppress heretics, preserve the King and his issue, and drive base-born men and ill counsellors from him. They became forty thousand strong in a few days, and met with no opposition; they forced the Archbishop of York, and the Lord Darcy, to swear their covenant, and to go along with them. They besieged Skipton, but the Earl of Cumberland made it good against them: Sir

BOOK I. 1536. Ralph Evers held out Scarborough castle, though for twenty days he and his men had no provisions but bread and water. There was also a rising in all the other northern counties, against whom the Earl of Shrewsbury made head; and the King sent several of the nobility to his assistance, and within a few days the Duke of Norfolk marched with some troops, and joined him. They possessed themselves of Doncaster, and resolved to keep that pass till the rest of the forces that the King had ordered to be summoned should come up to them; for they were not in a condition to engage with such numbers of desperate men; and it was very likely that if they met with any ill accident, the people might have risen about them every where; so the Duke of Norfolk resolved to keep close at Doncaster, and let the provisions and rage of the rebels spend, and then, with the help of a little time, they might probably fall into factions, and melt away. They had now fallen to thirty thousand, but the King's army was not above five thousand. The Duke of Norfolk proposed a treaty, and made some go among them as deserters, and spread reports that their leaders were making terms for themselves. They were persuaded to send their petitions to the Court; and the King, to make them more secure, discharged a rendezvous that he had appointed at Northampton, and sent them a general pardon, excepting six by name, and reserving four to be afterwards named: but this put them all in such apprehensions, that it made them more resolved and desperate: yet the King, to give his people some content, put out injunctions, requiring the Clergy to continue the use of all the ceremonies of the Church. Three hundred were employed to carry the rebels' demands to the King, "which were a "general pardon, a parliament to be held at York, "and that courts of justice should be set up there: "they desired that some acts of parliament might be "repealed; that the Princess Mary might be re-"stored to her right of succession, and the Pope "to his wonted jurisdiction; that the monasteries

BOOK I.

1537.

"might be again set up; that Audley and Crom-
"well might be put from the King, and that some
"of the visitors might be imprisoned for their bri-
"bery and extortion." But these being rejected, the rebels took heart again; upon which, the Duke of Norfolk advised the King to gentle methods: he in his heart wished that all their demands might be granted; and the Lord Darcy did accuse him afterwards, as if he had encouraged them to make them. The King sent him a general pardon without any exceptions, to be made use of as he saw cause. The rebels, finding that with the loss of time they lost heart, resolved to fall upon him and beat him from Doncaster; but at two several times, in which they had resolved to pass the river, such rains fell out as made it unpassable, which was magnified as next to a miracle, and made great impressions on the rebels' minds. The King sent a long answer to their demands; "he assured them
"he would live and die in the defence of the Chris-
"tian faith: but the rabble ought not to prescribe
"to him and to the Convocation in that matter.
"He answered that which concerned the monas-
"teries, as he had done to the men of Lincoln-
"shire. For the laws, a multitude must not pre-
"tend to alter what was established; he had go-
"verned them now twenty-eight years, his subjects
"had enjoyed great safety, and been very gently
"used by him in all that time. It was given out,
"that, when he began to reign, he had many of the
"nobility in his council, and that he had then none
"but men meanly born: this was false, for he
"found but two noblemen of his council, and at
"present there were seven temporal Lords and
"four Bishops in it. It was necessary to have
"some that knew the laws of England, and treaties
"with foreign princes, which made him call Aud-
"ley and Cromwell to the Board. If they had any
"complaints to make of any about him, he was
"ready to hear them; but he would not suffer them
"to direct him what counsellors he ought to em-
"ploy, nor could they judge of the Bishops that

BOOK I.

1537.

"were promoted, who were not known to them. "He charged them not to believe lies, nor be governed by incendiaries, but to submit to his "mercy." On the 9th of December, he signed a proclamation of pardon without any restrictions.

They are everywhere quieted.

When this was known, and the rage of the people cooled, they were willing to lay hold on it, and all the artifices, that some of the Clergy and their leaders could use, had no other effect but to draw as many together as brought them under new guilt, and made them forfeit the benefit of the King's pardon. Many came in and renewed their oaths of allegiance, and promising all obedience for the future. Ask was invited to the Court, and well used by the King, on design to learn from him all the secret correspondences they had in the other parts of the kingdom; for the disposition to rebel was general, only they were not all alike forward in it. It was in particular believed, that the great Abbots cherished it, for which some of them were afterwards attainted. Darcy pleaded his great age, being then fourscore, and the eminent service he had done the Crown for fifty years together, and that he was forced, for his own preservation, to go along with the rebels; but yet he was put in prison. This gave the Clergy advantages to infuse it in the people, that the pardon would not be well kept: so eight thousand run together again, and thought to have surprised Carlisle; but the Duke of Norfolk fell on them and routed them, and by martial law hanged their captains, and seventy other persons. Others thought to have surprised Hull, but were likewise routed, and many of them were hanged. Many other little risings were quickly dispersed; and such was the Duke of Norfolk's vigilance, that he was every where upon them before they could grow to any number. And before the end of January, the country was absolutely quieted. Ask left the Court without leave, but was soon retaken and hanged at York. The Lord Darcy and Hussy were arraigned at Westminster, and con- condemned by their peers; the one for the Yorkshire, and the other for the Lincolnshire insurrec-

1537.

tions. Darcy was beheaded on Tower-hill: his old age and former services made him to be much lamented. Hussy was beheaded at Lincoln. Darcy accused the Duke of Norfolk, but he desired a trial by combat upon it; yet the services he had lately done were such, that the King would not seem to have any jealousy of him. After these and several other executions were over, the King proclaimed a general oblivion in July, by which the nation was again put in a quiet condition, and this threatening storm was now quite dissipated.

As soon as it was over, the King went on more resolutely in his design of suppressing the monasteries; for he was now less apprehensive of any new commotions, after so many had been so happily quashed, and that the chief incendiaries had suffered.

The greater monasteries resigned to the King.

A new visitation was appointed to enquire into the conversation of the Monks, to examine how they stood affected to the Pope, and how they promoted the King's supremacy. They were likewise ordered to examine what impostures might be among them, either in images or relics, by which the superstition of the credulous people was wrought on. Some few houses of greater value were prevailed with the former year to surrender to the King. Many of the houses that had not been dissolved, though they were within the former act, were now suppressed, and many of the greater Abbots were wrought on to surrender by several motives: some had been faulty during the rebellion, and so, to prevent a storm, offered a resignation. Others liked the reformation, and did it on that account; some were found guilty of great disorders in their lives, and to prevent a shameful discovery, offered their houses to the King; and others had made such wastes and dilapidations, that having taken care of themselves, they were less concerned for others. At St. Alban's the rents were let so low, that the Abbot could not maintain the charge of the abbey. At Battel, the whole furniture of the house and chapel was not above one hundred

BOOK I.

1537.

pounds in value, and their plate was not above three hundred pounds. In some houses there was scarce any plate or furniture left. Many Abbots and Monks were glad to accept of a pension for life, and that was proportioned to the value of their house, and to their innocence. The Abbots of St. Alban's and Tewkesbury had four hundred marks a year: the Abbot of St. Edmondsbury was more innocent and more resolute: the visitors wrote that they found no scandals in that house; but at last he was prevailed with, by a pension of five hundred marks, to resign. The inferior governors had some thirty, twenty, or ten pounds pensions, and the Monks had generally six pounds, or eight marks apiece. If any Abbot died, the new Abbot (they being chosen as the Bishops were, upon a *congé d'élire*, and a missive letter) was named for that purpose, only to resign the house. And all were made to hope for advancement, that should give good example to others by a quick and cheerful surrender: by these means one hundred and twenty-one of those houses were this year resigned to the King. In most houses the visitors made the Monks sign a confession of their former vices and disorders, of which there is only one original extant, that escaped a general rasure of all such papers in Queen Mary's time, in which they acknowledged, in a long narrative, "their former idleness, gluttony, "and sensuality, for which the pit of hell was "ready to swallow them up. Others acknowledged, "that they were sensible that the manner of their "former pretended religion consisted in some dumb "ceremonies, by which they were blindly led, "having no true knowledge of God's laws, but "that they had procured exemption from their dio-"cesans, and had subjected themselves wholly to a "foreign power, that took no care to reform their "abuses; and therefore since the most perfect way "of life was revealed by Christ and his Apostles, "and that it was fit they should be governed by "the King, their supreme head, they resigned to "him." Of his sort I have seen six. Some re-

signed in hopes that the King would found them anew; these favoured the reformation, and intended to convert their houses to better uses, for preaching, study, and prayer; and Latimer pressed Cromwell earnestly, that two or three houses might be reserved for such purposes in every county. But it was resolved to suppress all, and therefore neither could the intercessions of the gentry of Oxfordshire, nor of the visitors, preserve the nunnery at Godstow, though they found great strictness of life in it, and it was the common place of the education of young women of quality in that county. The common preamble to most surrenders was, "that "upon full deliberation, and of their own proper mo-"tion, for just and reasonable causes moving their "consciences, they did freely give up their houses "to the King." Some surrendered without any preamble to the visitors, as feoffees in trust for the King. In short, they went on at such a rate, that one hundred and fifty-nine resignations were obtained before the Parliament met, and of these the originals of one hundred and fifty-four are yet extant. Some thought that these resignations could not be valid, since the Incumbents had not the property, but only the trust for life of those houses. But the Parliament did afterwards declare them good in law. It was also said, that they being of the nature of corporations, all deeds under their seals were valid; and that at least, by their resignation and quitting their houses, they forfeited them to the King. But this was thought to subsist rather on a nicety in law, than natural equity.

Some Abbots attainted.

Others were more roughly handled. The Prior of Wooburn was suspected of a correspondence with the rebels, and of favouring the Pope; he was dealt with to submit to the King, and he was prevailed on to do it, but was never easy in it, nor fixed to it: "He complained that the new preachers "detracted from the honour due to the Virgin and "saints; he thought the religion was changed, "and wondered that the judgments of God on "Queen Anne had not terrified others from going

BOOK I.

1537.

"on to subvert the faith." When the rebellion broke out, he joined in it, as did also the Abbots of Whaley, Garvaux, and Sawley, and the Prior of Burlington: all these were taken, and attainted of treason, and executed. The Abbots of Glassenbury and Reading had also sent a great deal of their plate to the rebels; the former to disguise it the better, had made one break into the house where the plate was kept: so he was convicted both of burglary and treason, and at his execution he confessed his crime, and begged both God's and the King's pardon for it. The Abbot of Colchester was also attainted, and executed; but the grounds of it are not known: for the records of their attainders are lost. These had over and over again taken the oaths, in which they acknowledged the King to be supreme Head of the Church, and were present in those Parliaments in which the several acts about it were passed, and did not dissent to them; and since they made no opposition, when they might safely and legally do it, there is no reason to think they would have done it afterwards, when it was more dangerous and criminal: so that all those who have represented them as having suffered for denying the King's supremacy, have therein shewed their unacquaintedness with the journals of Parliament. The Abbot of Reading had complied so far, that he was grown into favour with Cromwell; so that in some contests between Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, and him, the Bishop, who was a proud ill-natured man, complained that Cromwell supported the Abbot against him, and wrote upon that a very insolent and expostulatory letter to him, which Cromwell answered with great strength of reason and decency of style; by which it appears that the height of his condition had no other effect on him, but to make him know himself and others better. Upon the attainders of those Abbots, their abbeys were seized on; and this was thought a great stretch both in law and equity: for it seemed not reasonable, if an incumbent was faulty, for that to seize on his benefice, which upon

his attainder ought to continue entire, and pass to the next successor, as if he were really dead. But a clause was put in the act of treason, 26 Hen. VIII. that "whatsoever lands of estate of inheritance, "any that should be convicted of treason had in "use, or possession, by any right or manner, should "be forfeited to the King." By which, as entailed estates were certainly comprehended, so it seems they applied it likewise to Church benefices; yet when the Bishop of Rochester was attainted, this was not thought on. The words, "estate of "inheritance," seemed to exclude church-lands; but the mention that was made of traitors' successors, that were cut off as well as their heirs, seemed on the other hand to include estates, to which successors might come in a traitor's room, as well as those which descended by inheritance. The words were ambiguous, and were stretched to justify those seizures; and therefore in an act of treasons made in the next reign, this was more cautiously worded; for it was provided, that traitors should forfeit the estates which they possessed in their own right. But whatsoever illegality there might be in these proceedings, they were confirmed by the following Parliament, in a special proviso made concerning those abbeys that were seized on by any attainders of treason. Many of the Carthusians were executed for denying the King's supremacy: others were also suspected of favouring them, and of receiving books sent from beyond sea against the King's proceedings, and were shut up in their cells, in which most of them died. The Prior was a man of extraordinary charity and good works, as the Visitor reported: but he was made to resign with this preamble, "That many of the house had of-"fended the King, and deserved that their lives "should be taken, and their goods confiscated; "and therefore to avoid that they surrendered their "houses." Great complaints were made of the visitors, as if they had used undue practices to make the abbots and monks surrender: and it was said, that they had in many places embezzled much of

BOOK I.

1537.

the plate to their own uses; and in particular, it was complained that Dr. London had corrupted many nuns. They, on the other hand, published many of the vile practices that they found in those houses, so that several books very indecently writ were printed upon this occasion; but on so foul a subject it is not fit to stand long. No story became so public as that of the Prior of the Crossed Friars in London, who was found in bed with a whore at noon-day. He fell down on his knees, and begged that they who surprised him would not discover his shame: they made him give them thirty pounds, which he protested was all he had, and he promised them as much more: but he not keeping his word to them, a suit followed upon it. Yet all these personal blemishes did not work much on the people. It seemed unreasonable to extinguish noble foundations, for the fault of some individuals: therefore another way was taken, which had a better effect.

The impostures of images discovered.

They discovered may impostures about relics and wonderful images, to which pilgrimages had been wont to be made. At Reading they had an angel's wing, which brought over the spear's point that pierced our Saviour's side: as many pieces of the cross were found, as, joined together, would have made a big cross. The Rood of Grace at Boxley in Kent had been much esteemed, and drawn many pilgrims to it: it was observed to bow, and roll its eyes, and look at times well pleased, or angry; which the credulous multitude imputed to a divine power: but all this was discovered to be a cheat, and it was brought up to St. Paul's Cross; and all the springs were openly shewed, that governed its several motions. At Hales in Gloucestershire the blood of Christ was shewed in a vial; and it was believed, that none could see it who were in mortal sin: and so, after good presents were made, the deluded pilgrims went away well satisfied if they had seen it. This was the blood of a duck renewed every week, put in a vial very thick of one side, as thin on the other; and either side turned

1537.

towards the pilgrim, as the priests were satisfied with their oblations. Several other such like impostures were discovered, which contributed much to the undeceiving the people.

Becket's shrine broken.

The richest shrine in England was Thomas Becket's at Canterbury, whose story is well known. After he had long embroiled England, and shewed that he had a spirit so turned to faction, that he could not be at quiet, some of Henry the Second's officious servants killed him in the church of Canterbury. He was presently canonized, and held in greater esteem than any other saint whatsoever; so much more was a martyr for the Papacy valued, than any that suffered for the Christian religion; and his altar drew far greater oblations than those that were dedicated to Christ, or the blessed Virgin, as appears by the accounts of two of their years. In one, three pounds two shillings and sixpence: and in another not a penny was offered at Christ's altar. There was in the one, sixty-three pounds five shillings and sixpence; and in the other four pounds one shilling and eightpence offered at the blessed Virgin's altar. But in these very years there was eight hundred and thirty-two pounds twelve shillings and threepence, and nine hundred and sixty-four pounds six shillings and threepence, offered at St. Thomas's altar. The shrine grew to be of inestimable value. Lewis the Seventh of France came over in pilgrimage to visit it, and offered a stone, valued to be the richest in Europe. He had not only one holy day, the 29th of December, called his martyrdom; but also the day of his translation, the 7th of July, was also a holy day; and every fiftieth year there was a jubilee, and an indulgence granted to all that came and visited his tomb: and sometimes there were believed to be one hundred thousand pilgrims there on that occasion. It is hard to tell whether the hatred to his seditious practices, or the love of his shrine, set on King Henry more to unsaint him. His shrine was broken, and the gold of it was so heavy that it filled two chests, which took eight men apiece to

BOOK I.

1537.

carry them out of the church; and his skull, which had been so much worshipped, was proved to be an imposture; for the true skull was with the rest of his bones in his coffin; his bones were either burnt, as it was given out at Rome, or so mixed with other bones, as our writers say, that it had been a miracle indeed to have distinguished them afterwards. The King called at this time a meeting of the Clergy, of ten Bishops, eight Archdeacons, and seventeen Divines and Canonists, and made them finish an explanation of the Christian religion. But this was afterwards digested into a better form, as shall be told in its proper place.

The Pope thunders against the King.

When all these things were known at Rome, all the eloquent pens there were employed to represent King Henry as the most sacrilegious tyrant that ever was; that made war with Christ's vicar on earth, and his saints in heaven; and he was compared to the worst princes that ever reigned; to Pharaoh, Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, Nero, and Dioclesian; but the parallel with Julian the apostate was most insisted on. It was said, he copied after him in all things, save only that his manners were worse. In many of these, Cardinal Pole's style was pretended to be known; and they were all at least much encouraged by him, which provoked the King to hate him most implacably. The Pope went further; for now he published all those thunders, with which he had threatened him three years before. "He pretended, that, as God's vicar, "he had power to root out and to destroy; and had "authority over all the kings in the world: and "therefore, after he had enumerated all the King's "crimes, he required himself to appear within "ninety days at Rome, either in person or by "proxy, and all his complices within sixty days; "and if he and they did not appear, he declared "him to have fallen from his crown, and them from "their estates. He put the kingdom under an in-"terdict, and absolved his subjects from their oaths "of allegiance. He declared him and his com-"plices infamous, and put their children under in-

"capacities. He required all the Clergy to go out "of England, within five days after the time pre- "fixed should expire, leaving only so many as "might serve for baptizing children, or giving the "Sacrament to such as died in penitence. He "charged all his subjects to rise in arms against "him, and that none should assist him. He ab- "solved all other princes from their confederacies "with him, and obtested them to have no more "commerce with him. He required all Christians to "make war on him, and to seize on the persons "and goods of all his subjects, and make slaves of "them. He charged all Bishops to publish the "sentence with due solemnities; and ordained it "to be affixed at Rome, Tournay, and Dunkirk." This was first given out the 30th of August, 1535; but it had been all this while suspended, till the suppression of the monasteries, and the burning of Becket's bones, did so inflame the Pope, that he resolved to forbear going to extremities no longer. So on the 17th of December this year the Pope published the bull, which he said he had so long suspended at the intercession of some princes, who hoped that King Henry might have been reclaimed by gentler methods; and therefore since it appeared that he grew still worse and worse, he was forced to proceed to his fulminations. By this sentence it is certain, that either the Pope's infallibility must be confessed to be a cheat put upon the world; or if any believe it, they must acknowledge that the power of deposing princes is really lodged in that chair: for this was not a sudden fit of passion, but was done *ex cathedra*, with all the deliberation they ever admit of. The sentence was in some particulars without a precedent; but as to the main points of deposing the King, and absolving his subjects from their obedience, there was abundance of instances to be brought in these last five hundred years, to shew that this had been all along asserted as the right of the Papacy. The Pope wrote also to the Kings of France and Scotland, with design to inflame them against King Henry: and if this

BOOK I.

1537.

had been an age of crusades, no doubt there had been one undertaken against him; for it was held to be as meritorious, if not more, to make war on him, than on the Turk. But now the thunders of the Vatican had lost their force.

The Bishops of England assert the King's power, and the nature of ecclesiastical offices.

The King got all the Bishops and eminent Divines of England to sign a declaration against all Churchmen who pretended to the power of the sword, or to authority over Kings; and that all that assumed such powers were subverters of the kingdom of Christ. Many of the Bishops did also sign another paper, declaring the limits of the regal and ecclesiastical power; that both had their authority from God, for several ends and different natures: and that princes were subject to the Word of God, as well as Bishops ought to be obedient to their laws. There was also another declaration made, signed by Cromwell, the two Archbishops, eleven Bishops, and twenty Divines, asserting the distinction between the power of the keys, and the power of the sword. The former was not absolute, but limited by the Scripture. Orders were declared to be a Sacrament instituted by Christ, which were conferred by prayer, and imposition of hands: and that in the New Testament no mention was made of any other ranks, but of Deacons or Ministers, and of Priests, or Bishops. After this, the use of all the inferior degrees of lectures, acolyths, &c. was laid down. These were set up about the beginning of the third century; for in the middle of that age mention is made of them, both by Cornelius and Cyprian; and they were intended to be degrees of probation, through which men were to ascend to the higher functions. But the Canonists had found out so many distinctions of benefices, and that a simple tonsure qualified a man for several of them, that these institutions became either a matter of form only, or were made a colour for laymen to possess ecclesiastical benefices. In this, and several other books of that time, Bishops and Priests are spoken of, as being both one office. In the ancient Church there were different ordinations,

BOOK I.

1537.

and different functions belonging to these offices, though the superior was believed to include the inferior. But in the latter ages, both the Schoolmen and Canonists seemed on different grounds to have designed to make them appear to be the same office, and that the one was only a higher degree in the same order. The Schoolmen, to magnify transubstantiation, extolled the office by which that was performed so high, and the Canonists, to exalt the Pope's universal authority, depressed the office of Bishops so low, (to make them seem only the Pope's delegates, and that their jurisdiction was not from Christ,) that by these means these two offices were thought so near one another, that they differed only in degree: and this was so well observed at Trent, that the establishing the episcopal jurisdiction, as founded on a divine right, was apprehended as one of the fatallest blows that could have been given to the Papacy. This being at this time so commonly received, it is no wonder if, before that matter came to be more exactly enquired into, some of the Reformers wrote more carelessly in the explanations they made of these Offices; which is so far from being an argument, that they were, upon due inquiry, of another mind, that it is to be looked on as a part of the dregs of Popery, flowing from the belief of transubstantiation and the Pope's supremacy, of which all the consequences were not so early observed.

The Bible in English, and new injunctions.

This year the English Bible was finished. The translation was sent over to Paris to be printed there, for the workmen in England were not thought able to go about it. Bonner was then ambassador in France, and he obtained a licence of Francis for printing it; but upon a complaint made by the French Clergy, the press was stopped, and many of the copies were seized on and burnt. So it was brought over to England, and was undertaken, and now finished by Grafton. Cromwell procured a general warrant from the King, allowing all his subjects to read it; for which Cranmer wrote his thanks to Cromwell; " and rejoiced to see the day

BOOK I.

"of reformation was now risen in England, since "the Word of God did shine over it all, without "a cloud. Not long after this, Cromwell gave
1537. "out injunctions, requiring the Clergy to set up "Bibles in their churches, and to encourage all to "read them. He also exhorted the people not to "dispute about the sense of difficult places, but to "leave that to men of better judgments. Incum- "bents were required to instruct the people, and "teach them the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the "Ten Commandments, in English: and that once "every quarter there should be a sermon, to de- "clare the true Gospel of Christ, and to exhort "the people to works of charity, and not to trust "to other men's works, to pilgrimages, or relics, "or the saying their beads, which tended to super- "stition. Images, abused by pilgrimages made "to them, were ordered to be taken away. No "candle was to be before any image but the "crucifix: and they were to teach the people, "that it was idolatry to make any other use of "images, but merely to put them in mind of those "whom they represented: and such as had for- "merly magnified images or pilgrimages were "required openly to recant and confess, that they "had been led into an error, which covetousness "had brought into the Church. All incumbents "were required to keep registers for christenings "and marriages, and to teach the people that it was "good to omit the suffrages to the saints in the "Litany." These struck at some of the main points of the former superstition, both about images, pilgrimages, and the invocation of saints: but the free use of the Scriptures gave the deadliest blow of all: yet all the Clergy submitted to them without any murmuring.

1538. Prince Edward born.

Prince Edward was this year born, and this very much blasted the hopes of the Popish party, which were chiefly built on the probability of Lady Mary's succeeding to the crown, which was now set at a greater distance. So both Lee, Gardiner, and Stokesly, seemed to vie with the Bishops of the other party, which of them should most zealously

BOOK I.

1538.

execute the injunctions, and thereby insinuate themselves most into the King's esteem and favour. Gardiner was some years ambassador in France; but Cromwell got Bonner to be sent in his room, who seemed then to be the most zealous promoter of the Reformation that was then in England. After that, Gardiner was sent to the Emperor's court with Sir Henry Knevet; and there he gave some occasion to suspect that he was treating a reconciliation with the Pope's Legate. But the Italian that managed it being sent with a message to the ambassador's secretary, he mistook Knevet's secretary for Gardiner's, and told his business to him. Knevet tried what could be made of it, but could not carry it far; for the Italian was disowned, and put in prison upon it; and Gardiner complained of it, as a trepan laid to ruin him. The King continued still to employ him; but rather made use of him, than trusted him: yet Gardiner's artifices and flatteries were such, that he was still preserved in some degrees of favour, as long as the King lived; but he knew him so well, that he neither named him one of his executors, nor one of his son's council, when he made his will. Gardiner used one topic which prevailed much with the King, that his zeal against heresy was the greatest advantage that his cause could have over all Europe; and therefore he pressed him to begin with the Sacramentaries; (so were those of the Helvetian Confession called,) and those being condemned by the German Princes, he had the less reason to be afraid of embroiling his affairs by his severities against them.

Lambert is condemned and burnt for denying the corporal presence.

This meeting so well with the King's own persuasions about the corporal presence, had a great effect on him; and an occasion did quickly offer itself to him, to declare his zeal in that matter. Lambert was at that time accused before the Archbishop of Canterbury: he had been Chaplain to the factory at Antwerp, and there he associated himself to Tindal: afterwards he was seized on coming over to England; but upon the changes

BOOK I. 1538.

that followed, he was set at liberty. Dr. Taylor had preached on the corporal presence in his hearing: this offended him, and he drew up his reasons against it, and gave them to Taylor. He communicated it to Barns, who was a hot man, and a fierce Lutheran: and they thought that the venting that opinion would stop the progress of the Reformation, give prejudice to the people, and divide them among themselves: and therefore they brought this matter before Cranmer, who was at that time likewise a Lutheran. He dealt with Lambert to retract his paper; but he took a fatal resolution, and appealed to the King. Upon which, the King resolved to judge him in person, and to manage the trial with great solemnity; and for that end, many of the Nobility and Bishops were sent for. When the day came, there was a vast appearance. The King's guards and cloth of state were all in white, to make it look the liker a divine service. Lambert begun with a compliment, acknowledging the King's great learning, and his goodness in hearing the causes of his subjects. The King stopped him, and bade him forbear flatteries, and speak to the matter: and he argued against him from Christ's words, that the Sacrament must be his body. Lambert answered in St. Austin's words, that it "was his body in a certain manner," but that a body could not be in two places at once. To this the King commanded Cranmer to speak; and he argued, that since Christ is still in heaven, and yet he appeared to St. Paul, that therefore he may be in different places at once. Lambert said, that was but a vision, and was not the very body of Christ. Tonstal argued, that the divine Omnipotence was not to be measured by our notions of what was impossible. Stokesly argued that one substance may be changed into another, and yet the accidents remain: so water, when boiled, did evaporate in air, and yet its moisture remained. This was received with great applause, though it was an ill inference, that because there was an accidental conversion, therefore there might be a substantial one, in which one substance w

1538.

annihilated, and another produced in its place. Ten, one after another, disputed; and their arguments, with the stern words and looks that the King interposed, together with the length of the action, in so public an assembly, put Lambert in some confusion; and upon his silence a great shout of applause followed. In conclusion, the King asked him if he was not convinced, and whether he would live or die? But he continued firm to his opinion: so Cromwell was commanded to read the sentence of his condemnation; and not many days after, it was executed in a most barbarous manner in Smithfield: for there was not fire enough put under him to consume him suddenly; so that his legs and thighs were burnt away while he was yet alive. He bore it patiently, and continued to cry out, *None but Christ, none but Christ.* He was a man of considerable learning, and of a very good judgment. The Popish party improved this, and persuaded the King of the good effects it would have on his people, who would in this see his zeal for the faith; and they forgot not to magnify all that he had said, as if it had been uttered by an oracle; which proved him to be both *Defender of the Faith, and supreme Head of the Church.* All this wrought so much on the King, that he resolved to call a Parliament, both for the suppressing the monasteries, and the new opinions.

Treaties with the German Princes.

Fox, Bishop of Hereford, died at this time: he had been much employed in Germany, and had concluded a league between the King and the German Princes. The King was acknowledged the patron of their league; and he sent them over one hundred thousand crowns a year for the support of it. There was a religious league also proposed; but upon the turn that followed in the Court upon Queen Anne's death, that fell to the ground; and all that was put in their league relating to religion was, that they should join against the Pope as the common enemy, and set up the true religion according to the Gospel. But the treaty about other points was afterwards set on foot. The King de-

BOOK I.

1538.

sired Melancthon to come over; and several letters passed between them: but he could not be spared out of Germany, though he was then invited both to France and England. The Germans sent over some to treat with the King; the points they insisted most on were, the granting the chalice to the people, and the putting down private masses, in which the institution seemed express; the having the worship in a known tongue, which both common sense, and the authority of St. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians, seemed to justify much. The third was the marriage of the Clergy; for they being extreme sensible of the honour of their families, reckoned that could not be secured, unless the Priests might marry. Concerning these things, their ambassadors gave a long and learned memorial to the King; to which an answer was made, penned by Tonstal, in which the things they complained of were justified by the ordinary arguments. Upon Fox's death, Bonner was promoted to Hereford, and Stokesly dying not long after, he was translated to London. Cromwell thought that he had raised a man that would be a faithful second to Cranmer in his designs of reformation, who indeed needed help, not only to balance the opposition made him by other Bishops, but to lessen the prejudices he suffered by the weakness and indiscretion of his own party, who were generally rather clogs than helps to him. Great complaints were brought to the Court of the rashness of the new preachers, who were flying at many things not yet abolished. Upon this letters were writ to the Bishops, to take care that as the people should be rightly instructed, so they should not be offended with too many novelties. Thus was Cranmer's interest so low, that he had none to depend on but Cromwell. There was not now a Queen in the King's bosom to support them, and therefore Cromwell set himself to contrive how the King should be engaged in such an alliance with the Princes of Germany, as might prevail with him, both in affection and interest, to carry on what he had thus begun. And

the beauty of Anne of Cleves was so represented to him, that he set himself to bring about that match. BOOK I.

1538. The act of the six Articles.

A Parliament was summoned to meet the 28th of April, in which twenty of the abbots sate in person. On the 5th of May a motion was made, that some might be appointed to draw a bill against diversity of opinions in matters of religion; these were Cromwell, Cranmer, the Bishops of Durham, Ely, Bath and Wells, Bangor, Carlisle, and Worcester: they were divided in their minds, and though the Popish party were five to four, yet the authority that Cromwell and Cranmer were in turned the balance a little; but after they had met eleven days, they ended in nothing. Upon that, the Duke of Norfolk proposed the six Articles: the first was for the corporal presence. 2. For communion in one kind. 3. For observing the vows of chastity. 4. For private masses. 5. For the celibate of the Clergy. And the sixth was for auricular confession. Against most of these Cranmer argued several days. It is not like he opposed the first, both because of that which he had declared in Lambert's case so lately, and in his own opinion he was then for it; but he had the words of the institution, and the constant practice of the Church for twelve ages, to object to the second: and for the third, since the monks were set at liberty to live in the world, it seemed hard to restrain them from marriage, and nothing did so effectually cut off their pretensions to their former houses, as their being married would do. For the fourth, if private masses were useful, then the King had done very ill to suppress so many houses, that were chiefly founded for that end: the Sacrament was also by its first institution, and the practice of the primitive Church, to be a Communion, and all those private masses were invented to cheat the world. For the fifth, it touched Cranmer in the quick; for it was believed that he was married; but the arguments used for that will be found in the next book. For auricular confession, Lee, Gardiner, and Tonstal, pressed much to have it declared necessary by the law of God.

Duke of Norfolk proposeth the six Articles.

BOOK I. 1538. Cranmer argued against this, and said, it was only a good and profitable thing. The King came often to the House in person, and disputed in these points: for the greatest part he was against Cranmer; but in this particular he joined with him. Tonstal drew up all the quotations brought from ancient authors for it, in a paper which he delivered to the King. This the King answered in a long letter, written with his own hand; in which he shewed, that the Fathers did only advise confession, but did not impose it as necessary: and so it was concluded in general, that it was expedient and necessary. On the 24th of May the Parliament was prorogued a few days; but by a vote it was provided that the bills should continue in the state they were then in. At their next meeting, two committees were appointed to draw the bill of religion: Cranmer was the chief of the one, and Lee of the other. Both their draughts were carried to the King, and were in many places corrected with his own hand; and in some parts he wrote whole periods anew. That which Lee drew was more agreeable to the King's opinion; so it was brought into the House. Cranmer argued three days against it; and when it came to the vote, the King, who was much set on having it passed, desired him to go out: but he excused himself; for he thought he was bound in conscience to vote against it: but the rest that opposed it were more compliant; and it also passed without any considerable opposition in the House of Commons, and was assented to by the King.

The substance of it was, "that the King, being "sensible of the good of union, and of the mischief "of discord, in points of religion, had come to the "Parliament in person, and opened many things of "high learning there; and that, with the assent of "both Houses, he set forth these articles.

"1. That in the sacrament there was no sub-"stance of bread and wine, but only the natural "body and blood of Christ.

"2. That Christ was entirely in each kind, and "so communion in both was not necessary.

"3. That Priests by the law of God ought not "to marry.

"4. That vows of chastity taken after the age of "twenty-one ought to be kept.

"5. That private masses were lawful and useful.

"6. That auricular confession was necessary, "and ought to be retained. Such as did speak or "write against the first of these were to be burned "without the benefit of abjuration; and it was "made felony to dispute against the other five: and "such as did speak against them were to be in a "*præmunire* for the first offence; the second was "made felony. Married Priests that did not put "away their wives were to be condemned of felony; "in those that lived incontinently, the first offence "was a *præmunire*, and the second felony. Wo-"men that offended were to be punished as the "Priests were. Those that condemned confession "and the sacrament, and abstained from it at the "accustomed times, were for the first offence in a "*præmunire*, the second was felony. Proceedings "were to be made in the forms of common law, by "presentments and a jury, and all Churchmen "were charged to read the act in their churches "once a quarter."

Censures passed upon it.

This act was received with great joy by all the Popish party; they reckoned that now heresy would be extirpated, and that the King was as much engaged against it, as he was when he wrote against Luther: this made the suppression of the monasteries pass much the easier. The poor Reformers were now exposed to the rage of their enemies, and had no comfort from any part of it but one, that they were not delivered up to the cruelty of the ecclesiastical courts, or the trials *ex officio*, but were to be tried by juries: yet the denying the benefit of abjuration was a severity without a precedent, and was a forcing martyrdom on them, since they were not to be the better for their apostasy. It was some satisfaction to the married Clergy, that the incontinent Priests were to be so severely punished; which Cromwell put in, and the Clergy knew not

BOOK I.

1539.

how they could decently oppose it. Upon the passing the act, the German ambassadors being set on to it by those that favoured their doctrine in England, desired an audience of the King, and told him of the grief with which their masters would receive the news of this act; and therefore earnestly pressed him to stop the execution of it. The King answered, that he found it necessary to have the act made, for repressing the insolence of some people; but assured them, it should not be put in execution, except upon great provocation. When the Princes heard of the act, they wrote to the King to the same purpose: they warned him of many Bishops that were about him, who in their hearts loved Popery, and all the old abuses, and took this method to force the King to return back to the former yoke, hoping that if they once made him cruel to all those they called heretics, it would be easy to bring him back to submit to that tyranny which he had shaken off; and therefore they proposed a conference between some Divines of both sides, in order to an agreement of doctrine. The King was only concerned upon state maxims, to keep up their league in opposition to the Emperor; but they still pressed a religious as well as a civil league.

An act for suppressing the monasteries.

After the act of the six Articles, the act for suppressing the monasteries was brought in; and though there were so many Abbots sitting in the House, none of them protested against it: "By it "no monastery was suppressed, but only the resig- "nations made or to be made were confirmed; "and the King's right founded either on their sur- "renders, forfeitures, or attainders of treason, was "declared good in law. Houses surrendered were "to be managed by the Court of Augmentations; "but those seized on by attainders were to come "to the Exchequer. All persons, except the "founders and donors, were to have the same rights "to the lands belonging to these houses, that they "had before this act was made. All deeds and "leases made for a year before this, to the preju-

BOOK I.

1539.

"dice of these houses, were annulled; and all the "churches belonging to them, and formerly ex-"empted, were put under the jurisdiction of the "Bishop, or of such as should be appointed by the "King." This last proviso has produced a great mischief in this Church; for many that purchased abbey-lands had this clause put in their grants, that they should be the visitors of the churches, and by this they continue still exempted from the episcopal jurisdiction; and this has emboldened many to break out into great scandals, which have been made use of by prejudiced men to cast an obloquy on the Church; though this disorder proceeds only from the want of authority in the Bishops to censure them. A question was raised upon this suppression, whether the lands should have reverted to the donors, or been escheated to the Crown. By a judgment of the Roman Senate in Theodosius's time, all the endowments of the Heathenish temples were given to the fisc; and though the heirs of the donors pretended to them, yet it was said, that, by the gifts that their ancestors made, they were totally alienated from them and their heirs. When the order of the Templers was suppressed, their lands went to the lord by an escheat. This might seem reasonable in endowments that were simple gifts, without any conditions: but the grants to religious houses were of the nature of covenants, given in consideration of the masses that were to be said for them and their families; and therefore it was inferred, that when the cheat of redeeming souls out of purgatory was discovered, and these houses were suppressed, then the lands ought to revert to the heirs of the donors; and upon that account it was thought necessary to exclude them by a special proviso.

An act for new bishoprics.

Another bill was brought in, empowering the King to erect new bishoprics by his letters patents; it was read three times in one day in the House of Lords. The preamble set forth, "that the ill lives "of those that were called religious made it neces-"sary to change their houses to better uses, for

BOOK I.

1539.

"teaching the Word of God, instructing of children, educating of clerks, relieving of old infirm "people, the endowing of readers for Greek, "Latin, and Hebrew, mending of high-ways, and "the bettering the condition of the parish priests; "and for this end the King was empowered to "erect new sees, and to assign what limits and "divisions, and appoint them what statutes he "pleased." I have seen the first draught of this preamble all written with the King's own hand; and indeed he used extraordinary care in correcting both acts of Parliament and proclamations with his own hand: all papers in matters of religion, that were set out by public authority in this reign, were revised by him; and in many places large corrections are to be seen, made with his own hand, which shew both his great judgment in those matters, and his extraordinary application to business: but as he was fond of his two acquired titles, of *Defender of the Faith*, and *supreme Head of the Church*, and loved to shew that he did not carry them in vain; so there was nothing which he affected more, than to discover his learning and understanding in matters of religion. He wrote also a list of all the new sees which he intended to found; which were, Waltham for Essex, St. Alban's for Hertford, another for Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire, out of the monasteries of Dunstable, Newenham, and Clowstown; another for Oxfordshire and Berkshire, out of the rents of Osney and Tame; one for Northampton and Huntingdon, out of Peterborough; one for Middlesex, out of Westminster; one for Leicester and Rutland, out of Leicester; one for Gloucestershire, out of St. Peter's in Gloucester; one for Lancashire, out of Fountain, and the Archdeaconry of Richmond; one for Suffolk, out of Edmondsbury; one for Stafford and Salop, out of Shrewsbury; one for Nottingham and Derby, out of Welbeck, Warsop, and Thurgarton; and one for Cornwall, out of the rents of Launceston, Bodmyn, and Wardreth. Over these he wrote, *Bishoprics to be made*; and in

another part of the same paper he wrote, *Places to be altered which have Sees in them*, and names Christ Church in Canterbury, St. Swithin's, and several others; a little under that he wrote, *Places to be altered into Colleges and Schools*, but mentions only Burton upon Trent. Neither Chester nor Bristol are named here, though episcopal sees were afterwards erected in them. The King had formed a great design of endowing many sees, and making many other noble foundations; yet the great change that was made in the councils and ministry before this took effect, made that only a small part of that which he now intended was accomplished. Another act was brought in concerning the obedience due to the King's proclamations, which set forth, "that great exceptions had been made to the "legality of the King's proclamations, by some who "did not consider what a King might do by his "royal power; which the King took very ill: and "since many occasions called for speedy remedies, "and could not admit of delays till a Parliament "might be called; therefore it was enacted, that "such proclamations as the King set out by advice "of his Council, with pains upon offenders, should "be obeyed as if they were acts of Parliament: yet "it was provided that no laws nor customs might "be taken away by them, and that the subjects "should not suffer in their estates, liberties, or "persons, by them. If any offended against them, "and fled out of the kingdom, that was made "treason. It was also provided, that if the King's "heirs should reign before they were of age, the "proclamations set out by the Privy Council "should have the like force in law." By this the injunctions that had been given, or should be thereafter given, were now legally authorized. The statute of precedence passed in this Parliament. The King's Vicegerent was to take place of all after the royal family; and next him, among the Clergy, came the two Archbishops; then the Bishops of London and Durham; after them the Bishop of Winchester, as Prelate of the Garter;

An Act for proclamations.

The statute of precedence of the Bishops.

BOOK I.

and all the other Bishops were to take place according to the date of their consecrations.

1539. Some attainted without being heard.

A bill of attainder passed, not only confirming the sentences that had been given against the Marquis of Exeter, the Lord Montacute, and others, that had been condemned at common law; but of some that were of new attainted without a trial: of these some were absent, and others were in prison; but it was not thought fit to bring them to make their answers: the chief of these were the Marchioness of Exeter, and the Countess of Sarum, (mother to Cardinal Pole:) it was questioned whether this could be done in law or not. The Judges delivered their opinion, that it was against natural justice to condemn any without hearing them; and that, when the Parliament proceeded as a court, they were obliged to follow the common rules of equity; but if they did otherwise, yet since they were the supreme court of the nation, whatsoever they did could not be reversed. The latter part of this was laid hold on, and the former was neglected, so that act passed. This counsel was ascribed to Cromwell, and he being the first that was executed upon such a sentence, gave occasion to many to observe the justice of God in making ill counsels turn upon those that gave them.

The King's kindness to Cranmer.

When the Parliament was prorogued, the King ordered Cranmer to put in writing all the arguments he had used against the six Articles, and bring them to him. He sent also both Cromwell and the Duke of Norfolk to dine with him, and to assure him of the constancy of his kindness to him. At table they expressed great esteem for him, and acknowledged that he had opposed the six Articles with so much learning and gravity, that those who differed most from him could not but value him highly for it; and that he needed not to fear any thing from the King. Cromwell said, the King made that difference between him and the rest of his Council, that he would not so much as hearken to any complaints that were made of him; and

made a parallel between him and Cardinal Wolsey; the one lost his friends by his pride, and the other gained on his enemies by his humility and mildness. The Duke of Norfolk said, he could speak best of the Cardinal, having been his man so long. This heated Cromwell, who answered, that he never liked his manners; and though Wolsey had intended, if he had been chosen Pope, to have carried him with him to Italy; yet he was resolved not to have gone, though he knew the Duke intended to have gone with him. Upon this the Duke of Norfolk swore he lied, and gave him foul language. This put all the company in great disorder: they were in some sort reconciled, but were never hearty friends after this. Cranmer put his reasons against the six Articles together, and gave them to his secretary to be written out in a fair hand for the King's use: but he crossing the Thames with the book in his bosom, met with such an adventure on the water as might have at another time sent the author to the fire. There was a bear baited near the river, which breaking loose run into it, and happened to overturn the boat in which Cranmer's secretary was; and he being in danger of his life took no care of the book, which, falling from him, floated on the river, and was taken up by the bear-ward, and put in the hand of a priest that stood by, to see what it might contain. He presently found it was a confutation of the six Articles, and so told the bear-ward, that the author of it would certainly be hanged. So when the secretary came to ask for it, and said it was the Archbishop's book, the other, that was an obstinate Papist, refused to give it, and reckoned that now Cranmer would be certainly ruined: but the secretary acquainting Cromwell with it, he called for him next day, and chid him severely for presuming to keep a Privy Counsellor's book, and so he took it out of his hands: thus Cranmer was delivered out of this danger. Shaxton and Latimer not only resigned their bishoprics, but being presented for some words spoken against the six Articles, they were put in

BOOK I.

1539.

prison, where they lay till a recantation discharged the one, and the King's death set the other at liberty. There were about five hundred others presented on the same account; but, upon the intercessions of Cranmer, Cromwell, and others, they were set at liberty, and there was a stop put to the further execution of the act till Cromwell fell.

Bishops hold their sees at the King's pleasure.

The Bishops of the Popish party took strange methods to insinuate themselves into the King's confidence; for they took out commissions by which they acknowledged, "that all jurisdiction, "civil and ecclesiastical, flowed from the King, "and that they exercised it only at the King's "courtesy; and as they had of his bounty, so they "would be ready to deliver it up when he should "be pleased to call for it; and therefore the King "did empower them in his stead to ordain, give "institution, and do all the other parts of the episcopal function, which was to last during his "pleasure: and a mighty charge was given them to "ordain none but persons of great integrity, good "life, and well learned; for since the corruption of "religion flowed from ill pastors, so the reformation "of it was to be expected chiefly from good "pastors." By this they were made indeed the King's Bishops: in this Bonner set an example to the rest, but it does not appear that Cranmer took out any such commission all this reign.

All the monasteries suppressed.

Now came on the total dissolution of the abbeys; fifty-seven surrenders were made this year, (of which thirty are yet extant,) of these thirty-seven were monasteries, and twenty were nunneries: and among them twelve were parliamentary abbeys; which were in all twenty-eight; Abingdon, St. Alban's, St. Austin's, Canterbury, Battell, St Bennet's in the Holm, Bardeny, Cirencester, Colchester, Coventry, Croyland, St. Edmondsbury, Evesham, Glassenbury, Gloucester, Hide, Malmsbury, St. Mary's in York, Peterborough, Ramsey, Reading, Selby, Shrewsbury, Tavistock, Tewkesbury, Thorney, Waltham, Westminster, and Winchelcomb. When all had thus resigned, commissioners were

appointed by the Court of Augmentations to seize on the revenues and goods belonging to these houses, to establish the pensions that were to be given to every one that had been in them, and to pull down the churches, or such other parts of the fabric as they thought superfluous, and to sell the materials of them. When this was done, others began to get hospitals to be surrendered to the King: Thirleby, being master of St. Thomas's hospital in Southwark, was the first that set an example to the rest; he was soon after made a Bishop, and turned with every change that followed, till Queen Elizabeth came to the crown, and then he refused to comply, though he had gone along with all the changes that were made in King Edward's time. The valued rents of the abbey-lands, as they were then let, was one hundred thirty-two thousand six hundred and seven pounds, six shillings and four pence; but they were worth above ten times so much in true value. The King had now in his hand the greatest advantage that ever King of England had, both for enriching the Crown, and making royal foundations. But such was his easiness to his courtiers, and his lavishness, that all this melted away in a few years, and his designs were never accomplished. He intended to have founded eighteen new bishoprics, but he founded only six: other great projects did also become abortive. In particular, one that was designed by Sir Nicholas Bacon, which was a seminary for statesmen: he proposed the erecting a house for persons of quality, or of extraordinary endowments, for the study of the civil law, and of the Latin and French tongues; of whom, some were to be sent with every ambassador beyond sea, to be improved in the knowledge of foreign affairs, in which they should be employed as they grew capable of them: and others were to be set to work, to write the history of the transactions abroad, and of affairs at home. This was to supply one loss that was like to follow on the fall of abbeys; for in most of them there was kept a chronicle of

The yearly rents of the abbey-lands.

BOOK I.

1539.

the times. These were written by men that were more credulous than judicious; and so they are often more particular in the recital of trifles, than of important affairs; and an invincible humour of lying, when it might raise the credit of their order, or house, runs through all their manuscripts. All the ground that Cranmer gained this year, in which there was so much lost, was a liberty that all private persons might have Bibles in their houses, the managing of which was put in Cromwell's hands by a special patent. Gardiner opposed it vehemently, and built much on this, that without tradition it was impossible to understand the meaning of the Scriptures; and one day, before the King, he challenged Cranmer to shew any difference between the Scriptures and the Apostles' Canons. It is not known how Cranmer managed the debate; but the issue of it was this, the King judged in his favour, and said, he was an old experienced captain, and ought not to be troubled by fresh men and novices. The King was now resolved to marry again, and both the Emperor and the King of France proposed matches to him, but they came to no effect. The Emperor endeavoured by all means possible to separate the King from the Princes of the Smalcaldick league; and the act of the six Articles had done that already in a great measure; for they complained much of the King's severity in those points, which were the principal parts of their doctrine; such as communion in both kinds, private masses, and the marriage of the Clergy. Gardiner studied to animate the King much against them; he often told him, it was below his dignity to suffer dull Germans to dictate to him; and he suggested, that they who would not acknowledge the Emperor's supremacy in the matters of religion, could not be hearty friends to the authority which the King had assumed in them. But the Germans did not look on the Emperor as their sovereign, but only as the head of the empire; and they did believe, that every Prince in his dominions, and the Diet for the whole empire, had sufficient authority for making laws in ecclesiastical affairs; but what other considerations

could not induce the King to, was like to be more powerfully carried on by the match with Anne of Cleves, which was now set on foot.

1539.

A treaty for a match with Anne of Cleves.

There had been a treaty between her father and the Duke of Lorrain, for the Prince of Lorrain and her; but it had gone no farther than a contract between the fathers. Hans Holbein, the famous painter of that age, took her picture very much to her advantage; for the King never liked the original so well as he had done the picture. The Duke of Saxe dissuaded the match, because the King was going backward in the matter of the Reformation; but Cromwell set it on vigorously. It was said, the lady had great charms in her person; but she could speak no language but Dutch, which the King understood not; nor was she bred to music; and she had a stiffness in her breeding, which was not at all accommodated to the King's inclinations. The match was at last agreed on: and in the end of December she was brought over. The King was impatient, and so went *incognito* to Rochester, but was struck when he saw her. There was a rudeness in her, which did not at all please him: he swore they had brought over a Flanders mare to him, and took up an incurable aversion to her. He resolved to break the match if it were possible: but his affairs made the friendship of the German Princes to be then very necessary to him; so that he did not think it advisable to put any affront on the Duke of Saxe and Cleves, her brother, and her brother in law. The Emperor had at this time made a hasty journey through France; and Francis and he had an interview, where, as the King was informed, a project was laid down against him, which was chiefly set on by the Pope. Francis was thinking how to take Calais, and the other places the King had in France, from him; it had been also easy for him to have engaged the King of Scotland against him: and the people in the North were thought to retain their former disposition to rise still; so that a war made on the King in such circumstances was like to find him at a great disad-

BOOK I.

1539.

vantage. This made the King more tender of offending the Germans: but he tried if that precontract with the Duke of Lorrain's son could furnish him with a fair excuse to break the match. The King expressed the great trouble he was in, both to Cromwell, and many of his other servants; and one of them pleasantly told him, that subjects had this advantage over Princes, that they chose wives for themselves, whereas Princes were obliged to take such as were brought them. But nothing could be built on that precontract, which was only an agreement between the fathers, their children being under age; and that was afterwards annulled and broken by the parents. So Cranmer and Tonstal being required to give their opinions as divines, said, there was nothing in it to hinder the King's marrying the lady.

The King marries her, but never liked her.

On the 6th of January the King married her; but expressed his dislike of her so visibly, that all about him took notice of it: and the day after that, he told Cromwell that he had not consummated his marriage, and he believed he should never do it: he suspected she was not a virgin; and she had ill smells about her; so that his aversion to her was increased to such a degree, that he believed he should never be able to change it. Cromwell did what he could to overcome these inclinations; but that was not to be done: and though the King lived five months with her, and lay often in the bed with her, yet his aversion to her rather increased than abated. She seemed little concerned at it, and expressed a great readiness to concur in any thing that might disengage him from a marriage that was so unacceptable to him. Instruments were brought over, to shew that the contract between her and the Prince of Lorrain was void: but they took some advantage, because it was not declared whether the contract was in the words of the present, or of the future tense.

A new Parliament.

In April there was a session of Parliament; and at the opening of it, as the Lord Chancellor declared the matters relating to the state, for which

1540.

the King had called them; so the Vicegerent spake to them concerning the matters of religion: he told them there was nothing which the King desired so much as an entire union among all his subjects; but some incendiaries opposed it as much as he promoted it; and between the rashness on the one hand, and inveterate superstition on the other, great dissensions had arisen. These were inflamed by the reproachful names of Papist and Heretic: and though they had now the Word of God in all their hands, yet they studied rather to justify their passions out of it, than to govern their lives by it. In order to the removing this, the King resolved to set forth an exposition of the doctrine of Christ, without any corrupt mixtures, and to retain such ceremonies as might be of good use; and that being done, he was resolved to punish all transgressors, of what side soever they might be: for that end, he had appointed the two Archbishops, and the Bishops of London, Durham, Winchester, Rochester, Hereford and St. David's; and eleven Divines, Thirleby, Robertson, Cox, Day, Oglethorp, Redmayn, Edgeworth, Crayford, Symonds, Robins, and Tresham, for settling the doctrine: and the Bishops of Bath and Wells, Ely, Sarum, Chichester, Worcester, and Landaff, for the ceremonies. These committees for religion sate as often as the affairs of the Parliament could allow of. Two days after the Parliament met, Cromwell was made Earl of Essex, which shews it was not the King's dislike of the Queen that wrought his ruin, otherwise he had not now raised his title.

The Knights of Saint John suppressed.

A bill was brought into the Parliament for suppressing the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. These were at first only an hospital for entertaining the pilgrims that went to visit the holy grave: and after that, they became an order of knights: and they and the Knights Templers conducted and guarded the pilgrims. It was thought for some ages one of the highest expressions of devotion to Christ, to go and visit the places where he was crucified, buried, and ascended to heaven: and it

BOOK I.

1540.

was looked on as highly meritorious, to go and fight for recovering the holy land out of the hands of infidels; so that almost every one that died, either vowed to go to the holy war, or left somewhat to such as should go. If they recovered, they bought off their vow, by giving some lands for the entertainment of those Knights. There were great complaints made of the Templers; but whether it was their wealth that made them a desirable prey, or their guilt that drew ruin on them, is not certain. They were condemned in a council, and all of them that could be found were cruelly put to death. But the other order was still continued: and being beaten out of Judea, they settled at Rhodes, out of which they were lately driven, and were now settled in Malta. They were under a great master, who depended on the Pope and the Emperor: but since they could not be brought to surrender of their own accord, as others had done, it was necessary to suppress them by act of Parliament. Another house which they had in Ireland was also suppressed, and pensions were reserved for the Priors and Knights. On the 14th of May the Parliament was prorogued to the 25th, a vote having passed, that the bills should continue in the state they were in.

On the 12th of June there was a sudden turn at Court, for the Duke of Norfolk arrested Cromwell of high treason, and sent him prisoner to the Tower. He had many enemies: the meanness of his birth made the nobility take it ill, to see the son of a blacksmith made an Earl, and have the Garter given him; besides his being Lord Privy-Seal, Lord Chamberlain of England, Lord Vicegerent; and a little while before he had also the Mastership of the Rolls. All the Popish Clergy hated him violently. They imputed the suppression of monasteries, and the injunctions that were laid on them, chiefly to his counsels; and it was thought that it was mainly by his means that the King and the Emperor continued to be in such ill terms. The King did now understand, that there was no

BOOK I.

1540.

agreement like to be made between the Emperor and Francis, for it stuck at the matter of the Dutchy of Milan, in which neither of them would yield to the other; and the King was sure, they would both court his friendship in case of a war, and this made him less concerned for the favour of the German Princes. So, now Cromwell's counsels became unacceptable: with this a secret reason concurred. The King did not only hate the Queen, but was now come to be in love with Catharine Howard, niece to the Duke of Norfolk: which both raised his interest, and depressed Cromwell, who had made the former match. The King was also willing to cast upon him all the errors that had been committed of late, and by making him a sacrifice he hoped he should regain the affections of his people. The King had also informations brought him, that he secretly encouraged those that opposed the six Articles, and discouraged those who went about the execution of it. His fall came so suddenly, that he had not the least apprehension of it before the storm brake on him. He had the common fate of all disgraced ministers; his friends forsook him, and his enemies insulted over him; only Cranmer stuck to him, and wrote earnestly to the King in his favours. "He said, "he found that he had always loved the King "above all things, and had served him with such "fidelity and success, that he believed no King of "England had ever a faithfuller servant: and he "wished the King might find such a counsellor, "who both could and would serve him as he had "done." So great and generous a soul had Cranmer, that was not turned by changes in his friends' fortunes, and would venture on the displeasure of so imperious a prince, rather than fail in the duties of friendship. But the King was now resolved to ruin Cromwell; and that unjust practice of attainting without hearing the partiesa nswer for themselves, which he had promoted too much before, was now turned upon himself. He had such enemies in the House of Lords, that the bill of

BOOK I. 1540.

attainder was dispatched in two days, being read twice in one day. Cranmer was absent, and no other would venture to speak for him. But he met with more justice in the House of Commons; for it stuck ten days there. And in conclusion, a new bill was drawn against him, and sent up to the Lords, to which they consented, and it had the royal assent.

His attainder.

"In it they set forth, that though the King had "raised him from a base state, to great dignities; "yet it appeared by many witnesses, that were "persons of honour, that he had been the most "corrupt traitor that ever was known: that he had "set many at liberty that were condemned, or sus-"pected of misprision of treason: that he had given "licenses for transporting out of the kingdom "things prohibited by proclamation: and had "granted many passports without search made: "that he had said, *He was sure of the King:* "that he had dispersed many erroneous books, "contrary to the belief of the Sacrament: and "had said, that every man might administer it as "well as a priest: that he had licensed many "preachers suspected of heresy; and had ordered "many to be discharged that were committed on "that account; and had discharged all informers: "that he had many heretics about him: that above "a year before he had said, the preaching of Barnes "and others was good: and that he would not "turn, though the King did turn; but if the King "turned, he would fight in person against him, and "all that turned: and drawing out his dagger, he "wished that might pierce him to the heart, if he "should not do it: he had also said, if he lived a "year or two longer, it should not be in the King's "power to hinder it. He had likewise been found "guilty of great oppression and bribery: and "when he heard that some lords were taking "counsel against him, he had threatened, that he "would raise great stirs in England: for these "things he was attainted both of high treason and

"heresy." A proviso was added, for securing the church of Wells, of which he had been Dean.

BOOK I.

This was looked on as very hard measure. It was believed, that he had at least verbal orders from the King for the licenses and orders that were complained of; and perhaps he could have shewed some in writing, if he had been heard to make his answers. Bribery seemed to be cast on him, only to render him odious; but no particulars were mentioned; nor was it credible, that he could have spoken such words of the King as were alleged, especially when he was in the height of his favour; and if he had spoken them above a year before, it is not to be imagined that they could have been so long kept secret; and what was said of his drawing out a dagger, looked like a design to affix an overt act to them.

1540. Censures passed upon it.

This being done, the King went on to move for a divorce. An address was moved to be made to him by the Lords, that he would suffer his marriage to be examined. Cranmer and others were sent down to desire the concurrence of the Commons; and they ordered twenty of their number to go along with the Lords, who went all in a body to the King. He granted their desire, the matter being concerted before. So a commission was sent to the Convocation to discuss it: Gardiner opened it to them, and they appointed a committee for the examination of witnesses. The substance of the whole evidence amounted to these particulars: that the matter of the precontract with the Prince of Lorrain was not fully cleared; and it did not appear, that it was made by the Queen; or whether it was in the words of the present time or not: that the King had married her against his will; and had not given an inward and complete consent; and that he had never consummated the marriage; so that they saw he could have no issue by the Queen. Upon these grounds the whole Convocation, with one consent, annulled the marriage, and declared both parties free. This was the grossest piece of compliance that the King had from his Clergy in his

The King's marriage annulled.

BOOK I. 1540.

whole reign: for as they knew that there was nothing in the pretended precontract, so by voiding the marriage, because the consent was not internal and free, they made a most pernicious precedent for breaking all public treaties; for since none can know men's hearts, it would be easy for every one to pretend that he had not given a perfect consent; and that being allowed, there could be no confidence nor safety among men any more. And in the process for the King's first divorce, they had laid it down as a principle, that a marriage was complete, though it were never consummated. But in a word, the King was resolved to be rid of the Queen; and the Clergy were resolved not to offend him: and they rather sought out reasons to give a colour to their sentence, than pass it on the force of those reasons. Cromwell was required to send a declaration of all he knew concerning the marriage; which he did; but ended in these most abject words, "Written with the heavy heart and trembling hand of your Highness's most heavy and "most miserable prisoner, and poor slave, *Tho.* "*Cromwell*;" and under his subscription he wrote, "Most sacred prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, "mercy." The judgment of the Convocation was reported to the House of Lords by Cranmer, and the reasons were opened by Gardiner. They were sent down to the Commons to give them the same account, and both Houses were satisfied with it. Next day some Lords were sent to the Queen, who had retired to Richmond: they told her, the King was resolved to declare her his adopted sister, and to settle four thousand pounds a year on her, if she would consent to it, which she cheerfully embraced; and it being left to her choice, either to live in England, or to return to her brother, she preferred the former. They pressed her to write to her brother, that all this matter was done with her good will; that the King used her as a father; and that therefore he, and the other allies, should not take this ill at his hands. She was a little averse to this, but was prevailed on to do it. When

BOOK I. 1540.

things were thus prepared, the act confirming the judgment of the Convocation passed without any opposition. An act passed, mitigating one clause in the act of the six Articles; by which the pains of death for the marriage or incontinence of the Clergy were changed into a forfeiture of their goods and benefices. Another act passed, authorizing those committees of Bishops and Divines that had been named by the King, both for the doctrine and ceremonies, to go on in it; and appointing that what should be agreed on by them, and published with the King's approbation, should bind the subjects as much as if every particular in it had been enumerated in that act, any law or custom to the contrary notwithstanding: but a proviso was added, that nothing might be done by them contrary to the laws then in force: which contradiction in the provisos seems to have been put in on design to keep all ecclesiastical proceedings under the inspection of the secular courts, since they are the only expounders of acts of Parliament. Another act passed, that no pretence of a precontract should be made use of to annul a marriage duly solemnized and consummated: and that no degrees of kindred but those enumerated in the Law of Moses might hinder a marriage. This last was added, to enable the King to marry Catharine Howard, that was cousin german to Anne Boleyn, which was one of the degrees prohibited by the canon law; but the reason of the former part is not known. It directly condemns the King's divorce of Anne of Cleves, grounded on a pretended precontract.

The province of Canterbury gave the King a subsidy of four shillings in the pound, to be paid in two years, with a preamble of high acknowledgments of their happiness under his protection. A subsidy was also asked of the laity, but in the House of Commons it was much opposed: many said, they had given the King the abbey-lands, in hopes that no subsidies should have been any more demanded; and it shewed a strange profuseness, that now, within a year after that, a subsidy was

BOOK I. — 1540.

demanded. But it was answered, that the King had been at great charge in fortifying his coasts, and in keeping up such leagues beyond sea, as preserved the nation in safety: a tenth and four fifteenths were granted. Several bills of attainder were passed: and in conclusion, the King sent a general pardon, out of which Cromwell and divers others were excepted; and then the Parliament was dissolved. Cromwell's mean addresses could not preserve him: so he was executed on the 28th of July. He thanked God for bringing him to die in that manner, which was just, on account of his "sins against God, and his offences against his "Prince. He declared, that he doubted of no article of the catholic faith, nor of any sacrament "of the Church. He said he had been seduced, "but now he died in the catholic faith; and denied "he had supported the preachers of ill opinions." He desired all their prayers, and prayed very fervently for himself; and thus did he end his days.

Cromwell's death.

He rose merely by the strength of his natural parts; for his education was suitable to his mean extraction: only he had all the New Testament in Latin by heart. He carried his greatness with extraordinary moderation, and fell rather under the weight of popular odium, than guilt. At his death he mixed none of the superstitions of the Church of Rome with his devotions; so it was said, that he used the word Catholic Faith in its true sense, and in opposition to the novelties of the Church of Rome: yet his ambiguous way of expressing himself made the Papists say, that he died repenting of his heresy. But the Protestants said, that he died in the same persuasions in which he lived. With him fell the office of the King's Vicegerent, and none after him have aspired to that character, that proved so fatal to him who first carried it. It was believed that the King lamented his death when it was too late; and the miseries that fell on the new Queen, and on the Duke of Norfolk and his family, were looked on as strokes from heaven on them, for their cruel prosecuting this unfortu-

1540.

nate minister. With his fall, the progress of the Reformation stopped; for Cranmer could never gain much ground after this, and indeed many hoped that he should be quickly sent after Cromwell; some complained of him in the House of Commons, and informations were brought the King, that the chief encouragement that the heretics had came from him.

A book of religion set out by Bishops.

The ecclesiastical committees employed by the King were now at work, and gave the last finishing to a book formerly prepared, but at this time corrected and explained in many particulars. They began with the explanation of faith, which, according to the doctrine of the Church of Rome, was thought an implicit believing whatever the Church proposed: but the Reformers made it the chief subject of their books and sermons, to persuade people to believe in Christ, and not in the Church; and made great use of those places in which it was said, *That Christians are justified by faith only:* though some explained this in such a manner, that it gave their adversaries advantages to charge them, that they denied the necessity of good works; but they all taught, that though they were not necessary to justification, yet they were necessary to salvation. They differed also in their notion of good works: the Church of Rome taught, that the honour done to God in his images, or to the saints in their shrines and relics, or to the priests, were the best sort of good works: whereas the Reformers pressed justice and mercy most, and discovered the superstition of the other. The opinion of the merit of good works was also so highly raised, that many thought they purchased heaven by them. This the Reformers did also correct, and taught the people to depend merely upon the death and intercession of Christ. Others moved subtiler questions; as, whether obedience was an essential part of faith, or only a consequent of it: this was a nicety scarce becoming Divines, that built only on the simplicity of the Scriptures, and condemned the subtilties of the Schools; and it was said, that men

BOOK I.

of ill lives abused this doctrine, and thought that if they could but assure themselves that Christ died for them, they were safe enough.

1540. The explanation of faith:

So now when they settled the notion of faith, they divided it into two sorts: the one was a persuasion of the truth of the Gospel, but the other carried with it a submission to the will of God; and both hope, love, and obedience belonged to it; which was the faith professed in baptism, and so much extolled by St. Paul. It was not to be so understood as if it were a certainty of our being predestinated, which may be only a presumption, since all God's promises are made to us on conditions; but it was an entire receiving the whole Gospel according to our baptismal vows. Cranmer took great pains to state this matter right; and made a large collection of many places, all written with his own hand, both out of ancient and modern authors, concerning faith, justification, and the merit of good works; and concluded with this, that our justification was to be ascribed only to the merits of Christ; and that those who are justified must have charity as well as faith, but that neither of these was the meritorious cause of justification. After this was stated, they made next a large and full explanation of the Apostles' Creed with great judgment, and many excellent practical inferences. The definition they gave of the Catholic Church runs thus: "It comprehended all assemblies of "men in the world that received the faith of Christ, "who ought to hold an unity of love and brotherly "agreement together, by which they became members of the Catholic Church." After this they explained the seven sacraments.

And of the sacraments.

In opening these there were great debates; for, as was formerly mentioned, the method used was to open the point enquired into by proposing many queries, and every one was to give in his answer to these, with the reasons of it; and then others were appointed to make an abstract of those things, in which they all either agreed or differed. The original papers relating to these points are yet pre-

served, which shew with how great consideration they proceeded in the changes that were then made. Cranmer had at this time some particular opinions concerning ecclesiastical offices; that they were delivered from the King as other civil offices were, and that ordination was not indispensably necessary, and was only a ceremony that might be used or laid aside; but that the authority was conveyed to churchmen only by the King's commission: yet he delivered his opinion in this matter with great modesty; and he not only subscribed the book in which the contrary doctrine was established, but afterwards published it in a book which he wrote in King Edward's days; from whence it appears that he changed his mind in this particular. Baptism was explained as has been done formerly: penance was made to consist in the absolution of the priests, which had been formerly declared only to be desirable where it could be had. In the Communion, both transubstantiation, private masses, and communion in one kind, were asserted; they asserted the obligation of the Levitical law about the degrees of marriage, and the indissolubleness of that bond. They set out the divine institution of Priests and Deacons; and that no Bishop had authority over another. They made a long excursion against the Pope's pretensions, and for justifying the King's supremacy. They said, confirmation was instituted by the Apostles, and was profitable, but not necessary to salvation: and they asserted extreme unction to have been commanded by the Apostles, for the health both of soul and body. Then were the Ten Commandments explained; the second was added to the first, but the words, *For I am the Lord thy God, &c.* were left out. It was declared, that no godly honour was to be done unto images, and that they ought only to be reverenced for their sakes whom they represented: therefore the preferring of one image to another, and the making pilgrimages and offerings to them, was condemned; but the censing them, or kneeling before them, was permitted; yet the people were to be taught that

BOOK I.

1540.

these things were done only to the honour of God. Invocation of saints, as intercessors, was allowed; but immediate addresses to them for the blessings that were prayed for was condemned. The strict rest from labour on the seventh day was declared to be ceremonial; but it was necessary to rest from sin and carnal pleasure, and to follow holy duties. The other commandments were explained in a very plain and practical way. Then was the Lord's Prayer explained; and it was asserted, that the people ought only to pray in their vulgar tongues for exciting their devotion the more. The Angel's salutation to the Virgin was also paraphrased. They handled free-will, and defined it to be a power by which the will, guided by reason, did without constraint discern and choose good and evil; the former by the help of God's Spirit, and the latter of itself. Grace was said to be offered to all men, but was made effectual by the application of the free-will to it: and grace and free-will did consist well together, the one being added for the help of the other; and therefore preachers were warned not to depress either of them too much, in order to the exaltation of the other. Men were justified freely by the grace of God, but that was applied by faith, in which both the fear of God, repentance, and amendment of life, were included. All curious reasonings about predestination were condemned; for men could not be assured of their election, but by feeling the motions of God's holy Spirit appearing in a good and virtuous life, and persevering in that to the end. Good works were necessary, which were not the superstitious inventions of monks and friars, nor only moral good works done by the power of nature; but were the works of charity flowing from a pure heart, and faith unfeigned: fasting, and the other fruits of penance, were also good works; but of an inferior nature to justice and the other virtues: good works were meritorious; yet since they were wrought in men by God's Spirit, all boasting was excluded. They ended with an account of prayer for souls departed,

almost the same that was in the Articles published before.

1540. The book is published.

The book was writ in a plain and masculine style, fit for weak capacities, and yet strong and weighty; and the parts of it that related to practice were admirable. To this they added a preface, declaring the care they had used in examining the Scriptures and ancient Doctors, out of whom they compiled this book. The King added another preface, in which he condemned the hypocrisy and superstition of one sort, and the presumption of another sort: to correct both, he had ordered this book to be made and published; and he required his people to read and print it in their hearts, and to pray to God to grant them the spirit of humility for receiving it aright; and he charged the inferior people to remember that their office was not to teach, but to be taught; and to practise what they heard, rather than dispute about it. But this preface was not added till two years after the book was put out; for it mentions the approbation that was given to it in Parliament, and the restraint that was put on reading the Scriptures, of which an account shall be given afterwards.

The Reformers were dissatisfied with many things in the book, yet were glad to find the morals of religion so well opened; for the purity of soul, which that might effect, would dispose people to sound opinions; many superstitious practices were also condemned, and the Gospel covenant was rightly stated. One article was also asserted in it, which opened the way to a further reformation; for every national Church was declared to be a complete body, with power to reform heresies, and do every thing that was necessary for preserving its own purity, or governing its members. The Popish party thought they had recovered much ground that seemed lost formerly: they knew the Reformers would never submit to all things in this book, which would alienate the King from them; but they were safe, being resolved to comply with him in every thing; and without doing that, it was like

BOOK I. 1540. to be somewhat uneasy to live in England; for the King's peevishness grew upon him with his age. Now the correspondence between the King and the German Princes fell upon the change that was made in the ministry, and a secret treaty was set on foot between the King and the Emperor. All the changes that the committee appointed for the ceremonies made, was only the rasure of some offices and collects, and the setting out of a new primer, with the vulgar devotions for the common people: but the changes were not so great, as that it was necessary to reprint the missals or breviaries; for for the old books were still made use of. Yet these rasures were such, that in Queen Mary's time the old books were all called in, and the nation was put to the charge of buying new ones, which was considerable, so great was the number of books of offices.

Barnes and others fall into trouble.

The Popish party studied now to engage the King into new severities against the Reformers; the first instances of these fell on three preachers, Barnes, Gerard, and Jerome, who had been early wrought on by Luther's books. Barnes had, during Wolsey's greatness, reflected much on him in a sermon which he preached at Cambridge; but Gardiner was then his friend, and brought him off, he having abjured some articles that were objected to him; yet upon new complaints he was again put in prison; but he made his escape, and fled to Germany, and became so considerable, that he was sent over to England by the King of Denmark, as chaplain to his ambassadors; but he went back again. The Bishop of Hereford meeting him at Smalcald, sent him over to England, with a special recommendation to Cromwell: he was after that much employed in the negociations which the King had with the Germans; and had the misfortune to be the first that was sent with the proposition for Anne of Cleves. In Lent this year, Bonner appointed those three to have their turns at St. Paul's Cross; Gardiner preached also there, and fell on justification, which he handled according to the

BOOK I. 1540.

notions of the Schools: but Barnes and the other two did directly refute his sermon, when it came to their turns to preach, not without indecent reflections on his person. This was represented to the King as a great insolence, he being both a Bishop and a Privy-Counsellor; so the King commanded them to go and give him satisfaction: he seemed to carry the matter with much moderation, and readily forgave all that was personal, though it was believed that it stuck deep in him. In conclusion, they confessed their indiscretion, and promised for the future to be more cautious, and renounced some articles of which it was thought their sermons savoured; as that God was the author of sin, that good works were not necessary to salvation, and that princes ought not to be obeyed in all their just laws. Some other niceties were in dispute concerning justification; but the King thought these were not of such consequence, that it was necessary to make them abjure them. Barnes and his friends were required to preach a recantation-sermon at the Spittle, and to ask Gardiner's pardon; but though they obeyed this, yet it was said that in one place they justified what they recanted in another; at which the King was so much provoked, that, without hearing them, he sent them to the Tower. At that time Cromwell either could not protect them, or would not interpose in a matter which gave the King so great offence. When the Parliament came, they were attainted of heresy, without being brought to make their answers: no particular errors were objected to them, only they were condemned to be burnt as detestable heretics, in general words. In the same act, by which they were condemned, four others were attainted of treason, for being confederated with Reginald Pole, and for intending to surprise Calais; and as there was a strange mixture in their condemnation, so the like was in their executions; for Abel, Featherston, and Powell, that were attainted in the same Parliament for owning the Pope's supremacy, were executed with them, and were coupled together in

BOOK I.

1540. And burnt.

the hurdles in which they were carried to Smithfield; the King in this affecting an extravagant appearance of impartiality in his justice.

Barnes being tied to the stake, went over the Articles of the Creed, and declared his belief of them all, and that he abhorred the impious opinions of some German Anabaptists. He asserted the necessity of good works, but ascribed justification wholly to the merits of Christ; he professed all due reverence to the saints, but said he saw no warrant to pray to them; he asked the sheriff and the people, if they knew for what they were condemned, and what heresies they were accused of; but none made answer: he prayed God to forgive all that sought their death, and in particular, Gardiner, if he had done it; then prayed for the King and the Prince, and expressed his loyalty to the King; that he believed all his just laws were to be obeyed for conscience sake, and that in no case it was lawful to resist him: he sent some desires to the King, as that he would apply the abbey lands to good uses, and the relief of his poor subjects; that he would punish the contempt of marriage that was so common, and would put a stop to the liberty many took of casting off their wives, and living in whoredom; that swearers might be punished, and that since the King had begun to set forth the Christian religion, that he would go on with it; for a great deal yet remained to be done: he asked the forgiveness of all people whom he might have at any time offended, and so turned and prepared himself for death. Then the other two spoke to the same purpose; they declared their faith, and exhorted the people to a good life, and mutual love; and they all prayed and embraced one another; after that, the fire was set to. The constancy they expressed, together with the gentleness of their deportment towards their enemies, made great impressions on the spectators, and cast a heavy imputation on Gardiner, as the procurer of their deaths, though he justified himself in an apology which he printed, in which he denied any other accession to it, but giving

BOOK I.

1540.

his vote to the bill of attainder. Bonner began now to shew himself in his own colours: he had courted Cromwell more than any person whatsoever; yet the very day after his disgrace, he shewed his ingratitude; for Grafton that had printed the Bible, and was much in Cromwell's favour upon that account, meeting Bonner, expressed his sorrow for Cromwell's being sent to the Tower; but the other answered, that it had been good he had been there much sooner. Grafton saw his error in speaking so freely, and went from him: but some verses being printed in Cromwell's praise, Bonner informed the Council what Grafton had said to him, and so thought it was probable he had printed them; yet he had so many friends, that he was let go. He procured many to be indicted upon the act of the six Articles; but an order came from the King to stop further proceedings; yet he picked out one instance which did equally discover his brutal cruelty, and his want of judgment. One Mekins, not above fifteen years old, had said somewhat against the corporal presence, and in commendation of Dr. Barnes; the witnesses differed in their evidence; one swore he had said, the Sacrament was only a ceremony; the other swore he had said, it was only a signification: so two grand juries returned an *ignoramus* on the bill; upon which he fell into a fit of cursing and violent rage, and he made the second grand jury go aside and consider better of it; they being terrified, found the bill, and he was condemned to be burnt; but, hoping to be preserved by what he should say at the stake, he railed at Barnes, and praised Bonner much; yet that did not save him. Two were burnt at Salisbury, and two at Lincoln, upon the same statute, besides great numbers that were put in prison.

New sees founded.

In the end of this year the King began to endow the new bishoprics: Westminster was the first, in which he endowed a bishopric, a deanery, twelve prebendaries, a quire, and other officers. The year after this, he endowed Chester, Gloucester,

BOOK I.

1540.

and Peterborough; but in these cathedrals he only endowed six prebendaries; two years after he likewise endowed Oxford and Bristol. The foundations had preambles almost the same with that of the act of Parliament that empowered him to erect them: he promoted the Bishops to those sees by a special writ, though that was to go thereafter in the way of election, as it was in the other sees: he also converted the priories of Canterbury, Winchester, Durham, Worcester, Ely, Rochester, and Carlisle, into collegiate churches, consisting of deans and prebendaries. But as all this came far short of what the King had first intended, so the channel in which those foundations run, differed much from what Cranmer had projected, whose interest was so low at Court, that his opinion was not now regarded as it had been formerly. He intended to have restored the cathedrals to what they had been at first, to be colleges and nurseries for the diocese, and to have set up readers of the learned tongues, and of divinity in them, that so a considerable number of young clerks might have been trained up under the Bishop's eye, both in their studies, and in a course of devotion, to be by him put afterwards in livings, according to their merit and improvements. The want of such houses for the strict education of those who are to serve in the Church, has been the occasion of many fatal consequences since that time, by the scandals which men initiated to the sacred functions (before they were well prepared for them) have given the world. The Popish party beyond sea censured these endowments, both as being a very defective restitution of the lands that had been invaded, and as an invasion on the spiritual authority, when the King divided dioceses, and removed churches from one jurisdiction, and put them under another. To which it was answered, that as their practices against the King had put him to such a charge, that he could not execute what he at first intended; so both the Roman Emperors, and other Christian Kings, had regulated and divided the ecclesiastical jurisdiction,

and made Primates and Patriarchs as they pleased. Ely in England was taken out of Lincoln only by the King and his Parliament, though P. Nicolaus did officiously send a confirmation of it; that being an art of the Papacy to offer confirmations unsought, and afterwards to found a right on such a precedent; so that the receiving a confirmation, was made to pass for an acknowledgment of an authority in that see to grant it; upon which the Popes afterwards pretended, that such things could not be done without their consent. Here the series of the King's advances towards a reformation ends; what he did after this was by starts, backwards or forwards, as the humour took him: nor was he steady in his councils in state affairs: he had no minister about him that had an ascendant over him. Sickness and years increased his imperious temper, so that his counsellors had a hard task to please him, and many errors were committed by him.

1540.

1541.

The Bible set up in churches.

A new impression of the Bible was at this time finished: and the King required all parishes to provide one of them by the next All-hallowtide, under the pain of forty shillings a month after that, till they had got one. The people were also charged not to dispute about it, nor to disturb divine service by reading it during the mass; but to read it humbly and reverently for their instruction and edification. Six of these were set up in divers places of St. Paul's: but Bonner, being afraid of the mischief they might do, posted up near them, as admonition to the people, that none should read them with vainglory and corrupt affections, or draw multitudes about them when they read them. But great numbers gathered about those that read; and such as had good voices used to be reading them aloud a great part of the day. Many sent their children to school, and, when they had learned to read, they carried them to Church to read their Bibles; some began likewise to argue from them, particularly against taking away the chalice in the communion, and the worship in an unknown tongue; upon which Bonner set up a new adver-

BOOK I.

1541.

tisement, and threatened to remove them, if these abuses were not corrected : and upon the complaints made of those things, the free use of the Scriptures was afterwards much restrained. This year the King added to his former foundations two collegiate churches at Burton upon Trent, and Thornton, consisting of a dean and four prebendaries apiece. Cranmer, observing the excesses at Bishops' tables, by which, under the name of hospitality, so much was consumed in great entertainments, that they were disabled from more necessary and profitable acts of charity, made a regulation, that an Archbishop should not have above six dishes of meat, and four of banquet: a Bishop not above five of meat, and four of banquet; a Dean or Archdeacon not above four; and two of the one and the other: and inferior Churchmen might not have above two dishes. But this did not take effect, and sumptuous tables still continued, though the revenues were much impaired; and thus, besides the other ill effects of these, a great part of the Church rents goes for entertaining the rich, which should be applied to the poor.

The affairs of Scotland.

This summer the King went to York, to meet his nephew the King of Scotland, who promised him an interview there. He was an extraordinary prince, a great patron both of learning and justice; but out of measure addicted to his pleasures. The Clergy of Scotland were very apprehensive of his seeing his uncle, lest King Henry might have persuaded him to follow the copy he had set to his neighbours; and they used such persuasions, that these, seconded by a message from France, diverted the King from his purpose. Here I shall digress a little, to give an account of the state of Scotland at this time. The long alliance between Scotland and France, made that Paris was the place where the learned of that nation had their education : yet after the year 1412, learning came to have more footing there, and Universities were set up in several episcopal sees. At the same time some of Wickliff's followers began to creep into Scotland;

and one Resby, an Englishman, was burned (1407), for teaching some opinions contrary to the Pope's authority. Some years after that, Paul Craw, an Hussite and Bohemian, was burnt, for infusing the opinions of that party into some at St. Andrew's. About the end of that century, Lollardy, as it was then called, was spread into many parts of the diocese in Glasgow; for which several persons of quality were accused; but they answered the Archbishop of that see with such assurance, that he dismissed them, having admonished them to content themselves with the faith of the Church, and to beware of new doctrines. The same spirit of ignorance, immorality, and superstition, had overrun the Clergy there, that was so much complained of in the other parts of Europe; only it may be supposed, that in nations less polite and learned, it was in proportion greater than it was elsewhere. The total neglect of the pastoral care, and the gross scandals of the Clergy, possessed the people with such prejudices against them, that they were easily disposed to hearken to new preachers. Patrick Hamilton, nobly born, nephew by his father to the Earl of Arran, and to the Duke of Albany by his mother, was bred up on design to be highly preferred, and had an abbey given him for prosecuting his studies: he went to travel, and in Germany grew acquainted with Luther and Melancthon, and being possessed with their opinions, he returned to Scotland, and laid open the errors and corruptions then received in the Church. He was invited to St. Andrew's to confer concerning these points, upon which he was condemned, and put in prison. Articles were objected to him, and, upon his refusing to abjure them, Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, with the Archbishop of Glasgow, three Bishops, and five Abbots, condemned him as an obstinate heretic, and delivered him to the secular power, and ordered the execution to be that afternoon; for the King had gone in pilgrimage to Ross, and they were afraid lest, upon his return, Hamilton's friends might have interceded effectually

BOOK I. 1541.

for him. He was tied to the stake, and expressed great joys in his sufferings, since by these he was to enter into everlasting life. A train of powder being fired, it did not kindle the fuel, but only burnt his face; so a stop was made till more powder was brought: and in that time the friars called oft to him to recant, and pray to the Virgin, and to say the *Salve Regina.* One Friar Campbel was very officious among the rest, who had been oft with him in prison. He answered him, that he knew he was not an heretic, and had confessed it to him in private; and he charged him to answer for that to God. By this time the gunpowder was brought, and the fire was kindled, and he died, often repeating these words, *Lord Jesus, receive my soul.* Campbel became soon after frantic, and died within a year. Both these laid together, made great impressions on the people: and now that these points began to be enquired into, many received the new opinions. Seaton, a Dominican, the King's confessor, preaching in Lent, set out the nature of true repentance, and the method to it, without mixing the directions which the friars commonly gave on that subject; and when another friar shewed the defectiveness of what he had taught, he defended himself in another sermon, and reflected on those Bishops that did not preach, and called them dumb dogs. But the Clergy would not meddle with him, till they found him in ill terms with the King; and the freedom he used in reproving him for his vices, quickly alienated the King from him, upon which they resolved to fall on him; but he withdrew into England, and wrote to the King, taxing the Clergy for their cruelty, and praying him to restrain it. One Forest, an ignorant Benedictine, was accused for having spoken honourably of Patrick Hamilton, and was put in prison. In confession to a friar, he acknowledged, he thought he was a good man, and that the articles for which he was condemned might be defended. The friar discovered this, and it was received as evidence, and upon it he was condemned and burnt. Divers

1541.

others were brought into the Bishops' courts, of whom the greatest part abjured; but two were more resolute: one Gourley denied purgatory, and the Pope's authority; another was David Smeton, who being a fisherman, had refused to pay the tithe of his fish; and when the Vicar came to take them, he said, the tithe was taken where the stock grew, and therefore he threw the tenth fish into the sea: for this and other opinions he was condemned, and they were both burnt at one stake. Several others were accused, of whom some fled to England, and others went over to Germany. The changes made in England raised in all the people a curiosity of searching into matters of religion, and that was always fatal to superstition. Pope Clement the Seventh wrote earnestly to the King of Scotland, to continue firm to the Catholic faith: upon which he called a Parliament, and made new laws for maintaining the Pope's authority, and proceeding against heretics; yet the Pope could not engage him to make war on England. King Henry sent Barlow, Bishop of St. David's, to him, with some books that were written in defence of his proceedings, and desired him to examine them impartially. He also proposed the interview at York, and a match between him and the Lady Mary, the King's eldest daughter, and promised that he should be made Duke of York, and Lord Lieutenant of the whole kingdom. Yet the Clergy diverted him from this, and persuaded him to go in person to France, and court the daugter of that King, Magdalene. He married her in January 1537; but she died in May. She had been bred in the Queen of Navarre's court, and so was well disposed towards the Reformation. Upon her death, the King married Mary of Guise; she was a branch of the family, that of all Europe was most zealously addicted to the old superstition; and her interest, joined with the Clergy's, engaged the King to become a violent persecutor of all that were of another mind.

A persecution set on foot in Scotland.

The King was very expensive, both in his pleasures and buildings, and had a numerous race of

BOOK I.

1541.

bastards; so that he came to want money much. The nobility proposed to him the seizing on the abbey-lands, as his uncle had done. The Clergy, on the other hand, advised him to proceed severely against all suspected of heresy: by which means, according to the lists they shewed him, he might raise one hundred thousand crowns a year: they also advised him to provide his children to abbeys and priories; and represented to him, that if he continued stedfast in the old religion, he would still have a great party in England, and might be made the head of a league, which was then in project against King Henry. This so far prevailed with him, that as he made four of his sons Abbots and Priors, so he gave way to the persecuting spirit of the Clergy; upon which, many were cited to answer for heresy: of these many abjured, and some were banished. A canon regular, a secular priest, two friars, and a gentleman, were burnt. Forest the canon regular, had been reproved by his ordinary, the Bishop of Dunkell, for meddling with the Scriptures too much. He told him, he had lived long, and had never known what was in the Old or New Testament, but contented himself with his portoise and pontifical; and that he might come to repent it, if he troubled himself with such fancies. The Archbishop of Glasgow was a very moderate man, and disliked cruel proceedings. Russel, a friar, and Kennedy, a young man of eighteen years of age, were brought before him; they expressed wonderful joy, and a steady resolution in their sufferings; and, after a long dispute between Russel and the Bishop's Divines, Russel concluded, "This "is your hour, and the power of darkness; go on, "and fill up the measures of your iniquities." The Archbishop was unwilling to give sentence; he said, he thought these executions did the Church more hurt than good. But those about him told him, he must not take a way different from the rest of the Bishops, and threatened him so, that he pronounced sentence. They were burnt; but they gave such demonstrations of patience and joy, as made no

small impression on all that saw it, or heard of it. Among those that were in trouble, George Buchanan was one, who at the King's instigations had writ a very sharp poem against the Franciscans, but was now abandoned by him. He made his escape, and lived twenty years in foreign parts, and at last returned to do his country honour; and what by his immortal poems, what by his history of Scotland, he shewed both how great a master he was in the Roman tongue, and how true a judge he was both in wit, and in the knowledge of human affairs, (if passion had not corrupted him towards the end of his history), that he is justly to be reckoned one of the greatest and best of modern writers. So much for the affairs of Scotland, the author's native country.

The Queen's ill life is discovered.

King Henry stayed not long at York, since his nephew came not to him. He set out a proclamation there, inviting all that had been of late oppressed, to come in and make their complaints, and he promised to repair them. This was done to cast the load of all past errors upon Cromwell. The King was mightily wrought on by the charms of his wife; so that on the first of November he gave public thanks to God for the happy choice he had made: but this did not last long; for the next day Cranmer came, and gave him an account of the Queen's ill life, which one Lassells had revealed to him, as having learned it from his sister. She had been very lewd before her marriage, both with one Deirham, and one Mannock. Cranmer, by the advice of the other Privy Counsellors, put this in writing, and delivered it to the King, not knowing how to open it in discourse. The King was struck with it, and at first inclined to believe it was a forgery; yet he ordered a strict enquiry to be made into it, but he quickly found proof enough; for the Queen had so far cast off both modesty, and the fear of a discovery, that several women had been witnesses to her lewdness. It also appeared, that she had intended to continue in that ill course; for she had brought Deirham into her service; and at Lincoln,

BOOK I.

1541.

by the Lady Rochford's means, one Culpeper was brought to her in the night, and stayed many hours with her in a cellar, and at his going away she gave him a gold chain. The Queen, after a slight denial which she made at first, did at last confess all. Deirham and Culpeper were executed, and a Parliament was called upon it. When it met, a committee was sent to examine the Queen: their report is recorded only in general, that she confessed, but no particulars are mentioned. Upon that they passed an act, in the form of a petition. In it they prayed the King, "that the Queen and her complices, with her bawd, the Lady Rochford, might "be attainted of treason: and that all those who "knew of the Queen's vicious course before her "marriage, might be attainted of misprison of treason, for not revealing it to the King before he "married her. Among those were her father and "mother, and her grandmother, the Duchess of "Norfolk. It was also declared treason to know "any thing of the incontinence of any Queen for "the future, and not to reveal it. And it was made "treason in any whom the King intended to marry, "judging they were maids, not to reveal it, if they "were not such." The Queen and the Lady Rochford were beheaded on the 14th of February. She confessed her incontinence before her marriage, but denied to the last that she had broken her wedlock, though the lasciviousness of her former life made the world easy to believe the worst things of her. All observed the judgments of God on the Lady Rochford, who had been so instrumental in the ruin of Anne Boleyn, and of her husband: and when she, to whose artifices their fall was in a great measure ascribed, was found to be so vile a woman, it tended much to raise their reputation again. The attainting her kindred and parents, for not discovering her former lewdness, was thought extreme severity: for it had been a hard piece of duty to the King, in them, to have discovered such a secret. Yet though they lay some time in prison, the King pardoned them all afterwards, when his rage was a

little qualified. That other proviso, obliging a young woman to discover her own faultiness, if the King should make love to her, was thought a piece of grievous tyranny: and upon this, those that rallied that sex, took occasion to say, that after this, none who was reputed a maid, could be induced to marry the King; so that it was not so much choice as necessity that made him marry a widow two years after. Some hospitals were this year resigned to the King: but there was good ground to question the validity of those deeds, because by their statutes it was provided, that the consent of all the fellows was necessary to make their deeds good in law. So those statutes were now by a special act annulled, and this made way for the dissolution of many hospitals.

A design to suppress the Bible.

The Bishops sitting in convocation, took great pains to suppress the English Bible; but the King could not be prevailed on directly to call it in. So they complained much of the translation then set out; and intended to procure a condemnation of that, and then to set about a new one, in which it would be easy to put such delays, that it should not be finished in many years. Gardiner did also propose a singular conceit, that many of the Latin words should be still retained in the English; for he thought that they had either such a majesty, or so peculiar a signification, that they could not be fitly rendered. He proposed an hundred of those, and it seems hoped, that if this could be carried, the translation would be so full of Latin words, that the people should not understand it for all its being in English. Cranmer, perceiving that the Bible was the great eye-sore of that party, and that they were resolved to suppress it by all the means they could think of, procured an order from the King, referring the correction of the translation to the two Universities. The Bishops took this very ill; and all of them, except the Bishops of Ely and Saint David's, protested against it.

Bonner's injunctions.

At this time Bonner gave some injunctions to his Clergy, which had a strain in them so far different

BOOK I.

1541.

from the other parts of his life, that it is probable he drew them not himself. "He required his "Clergy to read every day a chapter in the Bible, "with some gloss upon it; and to study the book "set out by the Bishops: that they should employ "no Curates, but such as he approved of: that "they should take care to instruct young children "well in the principles of the Christian religion: "that they should not go to taverns, nor use un- "lawful games, chiefly on Sundays or holy-days: "that they should perform all the duties of their "functions decently and seriously: that they should "suffer no plays nor interludes in Churches: and "that in their sermons they should explain the "Gospel and Epistle for the day, and study to stir "up the people to good works, and to prayer; and "should explain all the ceremonies of the Church, but "should forbear all railing, or the reciting of fabu- "lous stories, and should chiefly set forth the ex- "cellencies of virtue, and the vileness of sin: and "that none, under the degree of a Bishop, should "preach without a licence."

The way of preaching in that time.

In the former times there had been few or no sermons except in Lent; for on holy-days the sermons were panegyrics on the saints, and on the virtue of their relics: but in Lent there was a more solemn way of preaching; and the friars maintained their credit much by the pathetic sermons they preached in that time, by which they wrought much on the affections of the people; yet these for the most part tended to extol some of the laws of the Church, as fasting, confession, and other austerities, with the making pilgrimages; but they were careful to acquaint the people, as little as was possible, of the true simplicity of Christianity, or the Scriptures; and they seemed to design rather to raise a sudden heat, than to work a real change in their auditors. They had also mixed so much out of legends with their sermons, that the people came to disbelieve all that they said for the sake of those fabulous things with which their sermons were embased. The Reformers took great care to instruct their hearers in the fundamentals of religion, of

BOOK I.

1542.

which they had known little formerly: this made the nation run after these teachers with a wonderful zeal; but they mixed too much sharpness against the friars in their sermons, which was judged indecent in them to do; though their hypocrisy and cheats did in a great measure excuse those heats: and it was observed, that our Saviour had exposed the Pharisees in so plain a manner, that it did very much justify the treating them with some roughness; yet it is not to be denied, but resentments for the cruelties they or their friends had suffered by their means, might have too much influence on them. This made it seem necessary to suffer none to preach, at least out of their own parishes, without licence, and many were licensed to preach as itinerants. There was also a book of Homilies on all the Epistles and Gospels in the year put out, which contained a plain paraphrase of those parcels of Scripture; together with some practical exhortations founded on them. Many complaints were made of those that were licensed to preach; and, that they might be able to justify themselves, they began generally to write and read their sermons: and thus did this custom begin, in which, what is wanting in the heat and force of delivery, is much made up by the strength and solidity of the matter, and has produced many volumes of as excellent sermons as have been preached in any age. Plays and interludes were a great abuse in that time; in them mock-representations were made both of the Clergy and of the pageantry of their worship. The Clergy complained much of these as an introduction to atheism, when things sacred were thus laughed at; and said, they that begun to laugh at abuses, would not cease till they had represented all the mysteries of religion as ridiculous: the graver sort of reformers did not approve of it, but political men encouraged it, and thought nothing would more effectually pull down the abuses that yet remained, than the exposing them to the scorn of the nation.

A war did now break out between England and Scotland, at the instigation of the King of France. A war with Scotland.

BOOK I.

1542. King Henry set out a declaration, pretending, that the Crown of Scotland owed homage to him; and cited many precedents to shew that homage was done not only by their Kings, but by consent of the States; for which original records were appealed to. The Scots, on the other hand, asserted, that they were a free and independent kingdom; that the homages anciently made by their Kings, were only for lands which they had in England; and that those more lately made were either offered by pretenders, in case of a doubtful title, or were extorted by force: and they said, their Kings could not give up the rights of a free crown and people. The Duke of Norfolk made an inroad into Scotland, with twenty thousand men in October: but after he had burnt some small towns, and wasted Teviotdale, he returned back to England. In the end of November an army of fifteen thousand Scots, with a good train of artillery, was brought together: they intended to march into England by the western road. The King went to it in person, but he was at this time much disturbed in his fancy, and thought the ghost of one whom he had unjustly put to death, followed him continually; he not only left the army, but sent a commission to Oliver Sinclare, then called his minion, to command in chief. This disgusted the nobility very much, who were become weary of the insolence of that favourite: so they refused to march, and were beginning to separate. While they were in this disorder, five hundred English appeared, and they apprehending it was a fore party of the Duke of Norfolk's army, refused to fight; so the English fell upon them and dispersed them: they took all their ordnance and baggage, and one thousand prisoners, of whom two hundred were gentlemen. The chief of these were the Earls of Glencarn and Cassilis. The news of this so overcharged the melancholy King, that he died soon after, leaving only an infant daughter newly born to succeed him. The lords that were taken were brought up to London, and lodged in the houses of the English nobility: Cas-

1542.

silis was sent to Lambeth, where he received those seeds of knowledge, which produced afterwards a great harvest in Scotland. The other prisoners were also instructed to such a degree, that they came to have very different thoughts of the changes that had been made in England, from what the Scottish Clergy had possessed them with, who had encouraged their King to engage in a war, both by the assurance of victory, since he fought against an heretical prince, and the contribution of fifty thousand crowns a year. The King's death, and the crown's falling to his daughter, made the English Council lay hold on this as a proper conjuncture for uniting the whole island in one: therefore they sent for the Scottish lords, and proposed to them the marrying the Prince of Wales to their young Queen; this the Scots liked very well, and promised to promote it all they could: and so, upon their giving hostages for the performing their promises faithfully, they were sent home, and went away much pleased both with the splendour of the King's Court, and with the way of religion which they had seen in England.

A Parliament called.

A Parliament was called, in which the King had great subsidies given him, of six shillings in the pound, to be paid in three years. A bill was proposed for the advancement of true religion, by Cranmer, and some other Bishops; for the spirits of the Popish party were much fallen ever since the last Queen's death; yet at this time a treaty was set on foot between the King and the Emperor, which raised them a little: for since the King was like to engage in a war with France, it was necessary for him to make the Emperor his friend. Cranmer's motion was much opposed, and the timorous Bishops forsook him; yet he put it as far as it would go, though in most points things went against him. "By it Tindall's translation of the "Bible was condemned as crafty and false, and "also all other books contrary to the doctrine set "forth by the Bishops. But Bibles of another "translation were still allowed to be kept, only all

An act about religion.

BOOK I.

1542.

"prefaces or annotations that might be in them "were to be dashed, or cut out: all the King's "injunctions were confirmed: no books of religion "might be printed without licence; there was to "be no exposition of Scripture in plays or inter-"ludes; none of the Laity might read the Scrip-"ture, or explain it in any public assembly: but a "proviso was made for public speeches, which then "began generally with a text of Scripture, and "were like sermons. Noblemen, gentlemen and "their wives, or merchants, might have Bibles; "but no ordinary woman, tradesman, apprentice, "or husbandman, might have any. Every person "might have the book set out by the Bishops, and "the Psalter and other rudiments of religion in "English. All Churchmen that preached con-"trary to that book, for the first offence, were only "required to recant; for the second, to abjure and "carry a faggot; but were to be burnt for the "third: the Laity for the third offence were only "to forfeit their goods and chattels, and to be "liable to perpetual imprisonment; but they were "to be proceeded against within a year: the par-"ties accused were not allowed witnesses for their "purgation. The act of the six Articles was con-"firmed, and it was left free to the King to change "this act, or any proviso in it." There was also a new act passed, giving authority to the King's proclamations, and any nine Privy Counsellors were empowered to proceed against offenders. To this the Lord Mountjoy dissented, and it is the only instance of any protestation against any of the public acts that passed in this whole reign. By the act about religion, as the Laity were delivered from the fear of burning, so the Clergy might not be burnt but upon the third conviction. The act being also put entirely in the King's power, he had now the Reformers all at mercy, for he could bind up the act, or execute it as he pleased; and he affected this much, to have his people depend entirely upon him. The league offensive and defensive for England and Calais, and for the Netherlands, was

sworn by the King and the Emperor; and assurances were given, that though the King would not declare Lady Mary legitimate, upon which the Emperor insisted much, yet she should be put in the succession to the Crown next Prince Edward. The Emperor was glad thus to engage the Kings of England and France in a war, by which the Germans were left without support; and so he resolved to carry on his great design of making himself master of Germany.

Affairs in Scotland.

In Scotland the Earl of Arran, Hamilton, next in blood to the young Queen, was established in the government during the Queen's minority: he was a man of great virtue, and much inclined to the Reformation, but was soft and easy to be wrought on. King Henry sent Sir Ralph Sadler to him, to induce him to set forward the match, and to offer him Lady Elizabeth to his son. It was agreed and confirmed in Parliament, that the young Queen should be bred in Scotland till she was ten years old, the King of England sending a nobleman and his Lady, with others, not exceeding twenty, to wait on her; and after that age she was to be sent to England; and in the mean while six hostages were to be given; but all the Clergy, headed by Cardinal Beaton, set themselves much against this. The Queen mother opposed it much, and it was also said, a match with the French would be more for the interest of the nation, who being at so great a distance, could not oppress them so easily as the English might; for if the French oppressed them, the English would be ready to protect them; but if they came under the yoke of England, they could expect no protection from any other Prince. This meeting with that antipathy that was then formed between the two nations, and being inflamed by the Clergy, turned the people generally to prefer a match with France, to that which was proposed for the Prince of Wales. The French sent over the Earl of Lennox to make a party against the Governor; they sent also over the Governor's base brother, afterwards made Archbishop of St. An-

BOOK I. 1542.

drew's, to take him out of the hands of the English; and he made him apprehend great danger if he went on in his opposition to the interests of Rome, that he would be declared illegitimate, as being begotten in a second marriage, while the first that was annulled, because of a precontract, did subsist; for if the annulling the first should be reversed, then the second could be of no force; and if that were once done, the Earl of Lennox, who was next to him in blood, would be preferred to him: these threatenings, joined with his brother's artifices, had their full effect on him; for he turned off wholly from the interests of England, and gave himself up to the French councils. When it was thus resolved to break the match with England, the Lords that had left hostages for their faithful performing the promises they made to King Henry, were little concerned either in their own honour, or in the safety of their hostages: only the Earl of Cassilis thought it was unworthy of him to break his faith in such a manner; so he came into England, and put himself in King Henry's hands, who upon that called him another Regulus, but used him better, for he gave him his liberty, and a noble present, and sent him back with his hostages, but resolved to take a severe reparation of those who had failed him in that kingdom. At the same time he began the war with France; one of the reasons he gave for it was, that Francis had failed in the matter of shaking off the Pope's authority, and advancing a reformation, in which he had promised to second him.

Some burnt at Windsor.

The King married Catharine Parre, widow to Nevil, Lord Latimer: she secretly favoured the Reformation, but could not divert a storm which fell then on a society at Windsor. Pearson a priest, Testwood and Marbeck, two singing-men, and Filmer, one of the town, were informed against by Dr. London, who had insinuated himself much into Cromwell's favour, and was eminently zealous in the suppression of the monasteries: but now he made his court no less dexterously to the Popish

party. Gardiner moved in council, that a commission might be granted for searching all suspected houses, for books written against the six Articles: so the four before mentioned were found to have some of them, and upon that account were seized on. Sir Philip Hobbey, and Dr. Hains, Dean of Exeter, were also put in prison. There was a Concordance of the Bible, and some notes upon it, in English, found written by Marbeck, which was looked on as the work of some learned man, for it was known that he was illiterate. Marbeck said, the notes were his own, gathered by him out of such books as he fell on. And for the Concordance, he said he compiled it by the help of a Latin Concordance, and an English Bible, though he understood little Latin. He had brought it to the letter L. This seemed so incredible, that it was looked on only as a pretence to conceal the true author; so, to try him, they gave him some words of the letter M, and shut him up with a Latin Concordance and an English Bible; and by his performance in that, they clearly saw, that the whole work was his own, and were not a little astonished at the ingeniousness and diligence of so poor a man. When the King heard of it, he said, Marbeck was better employed than they were that examined him: so he was preserved, though the other three were condemned for some words which they had spoken against the mass, and upon that were burnt. Dr. London, and Simonds an attorney, had taken some informations against several persons of quality at court, and intended to have carried the design very high. But a great packet, in which all their project was disclosed by them, being intercepted, they were sent for, and examined about it; but they denied it upon oath, not knowing that their letters were taken; and were not a little confounded when their own hand-writing was shewed them. So they were convicted of perjury, and were set on a pillory, and made ride about with their faces to the horses tails, and papers on their

BOOK I.

1543.

BOOK I.

breasts, in three several places, which did so affect Dr. London, that he died soon after.

1543. Cranmer's ruin is designed.

The chief thing aimed at by the whole Popish party was Cranmer's ruin: Gardiner employed many to infuse it into the King, that he gave the chief encouragement to heresy of any in England, and that it was in vain to lop off the branches, and leave the root still growing. The King till then would never hear the complaints that were made of him: but now, to penetrate into the depth of this design, he was willing to draw out all that was to be said against him. Gardiner reckoned, that this point being gained, all the rest would follow; and judged that the King was now alienated from him; and so more instruments and artifices than ever were now made use of. A long paper of many particulars, both against Cranmer and his chaplains, was put in the King's hands. So upon this the King sent for him; and after he had complained much of the heresy in England, he said, he resolved to find out the chief promoter of it, and to make him an example. Cranmer wished him first to consider well what heresy was, that so he might not condemn those as heretics, who stood for the Word of God against human inventions. Then the King told him frankly, that he was the man complained of as most guilty; and shewed him all the informations that he had received against him. Cranmer confessed he was still of the same mind that he was of when he opposed the six Articles, and submitted himself to a trial: he confessed many things to the King, in particular, that he had a wife; but he said he had sent her out of England, when the act of the six Articles passed; and expressed so great a sincerity, and put so entire a confidence in the King, that, instead of being ruined, he was now better established with him than formerly. The King commanded him to appoint some to examine the contrivance that was laid to destroy him. He answered, that it was not decent for him to nominate any to judge in a cause,

in which himself was concerned: yet the King was positive; so he named some to go about it, and the whole secret was found out. It appeared, that Gardiner and Dr. London had been the chief sticklers, and had encouraged informers to appear against him. Cranmer did not press the King to give him any reparation; for he was so noted for his readiness to forgive injuries, and to do good for evil, that it was commonly said, that the best way to obtain his favour, was to do him an injury: of this he gave signal instances at this time, both in relation to some of the Clergy and Laity; by which it appeared that he was acted by that meek and lowly spirit, that became all the followers of Christ; but more particularly one that was so great an instrument in reforming the Christian religion; and did in such eminent acts of charity shew that he himself practised that which he taught others to do.

The act of the succession.

A Parliament was now called, in which the great act of succession to the crown passed: "By it the "crown was first provided to Prince Edward and "his heirs, or the heirs by the King's present "marriage; after them to Lady Mary and Lady "Elizabeth; and in case they had no issue, or did "not observe such limitations or conditions as the "King should appoint, then it was to fall to any "other whom the King should name, either by his "letter patents, or by his last will signed with his "hand. An oath was appointed both against the "Pope's supremacy, and for the maintaining the "succession according to this act, which all were "required to take, under the pains of treason. "It was made treason to say or write any thing "contrary to this act, or to the slander of any of the "King's heirs named in it." By this, though the King did not legitimate his daughters, yet it was made criminal for any to object bastardy to them. Another act passed, qualifying the severity of the act of the six Articles: none were to be imprisoned but upon a legal presentment, except upon the King's warrant. None was to be challenged for words, but within a year; nor for a sermon, but

BOOK I.

1544.

within forty days. This was made to prevent such conspiracies as had been discovered the former year. Another act passed, renewing the authority given to thirty-two to reform the ecclesiastical law, which Cranmer promoted much; and, to set it forward, he drew out of the canon law a collection of many things against the regal and for the papal authority, with several other very extravagant propositions, to shew how indecent a thing it was to let a book, in which such things were, continue still in any credit in England: but he could not bring it to any good issue during this reign. Another act passed, discharging all the King's debts; and they also required such as had received payment, to bring back the money into the Exchequer. This was taxed as a piece of gross injustice; and it was thought strange, that, since the King had done this once before, he could have the credit to raise more money, and be tempted to do it a second time. A general pardon was granted, out of which heresy was excepted.

The King makes war on France and Scotland.

The King was now engaged in a war both with France and Scotland; and to make his treasure hold out the longer, he embased the coin in a very extraordinary manner. The Earl of Hertford was sent with an army by sea to Scotland; he landed at Grantham, a little above Leith. He burned both Leith and Edinburgh; but he neither stayed to take the castle of Edinburgh, nor did he fortify Leith, but only wasted the country all the way from that to Berwick. He did too much, if it was intended to gain the hearts of that nation, and too little, if it was intended to subdue them; for this did only inflame their spirits more, by which they were so united in their aversion to England, that the Earl of Lennox, who had been cast off by France, and was gone over to the English interest, could make no party in the west, but was forced, for his own preservation, to fly into England. Audley the Chancellor dying at this time, Wriothesly, that was of the Popish party, was put in his place, and Dr. Petre, that was hitherto Cranmer's

friend, was made Secretary of State, so equally did the King keep the balance between both parties; and being to cross the seas; he left a commission for the administration of affairs, during his absence, to the Queen, the Archbishop, the Chancellor, the Earl of Hertford, and Secretary Petre; and if they should have any occasion to raise any force, he appointed the Earl of Hertford his lieutenant. He gave order also to translate the Prayers, and Processions, and Litanies, into the English tongue; which gave the Reformers some hopes again, that he had not quite cast off his designs of reforming such abuses as had crept into the worship of God. And they hoped, that the reasons which prevailed with the King for this would also induce him to order a translation of all the other Offices into the English tongue.

BOOK I.

1544.

The King takes Boulogne.

The King crossed the sea with great pomp, the sails of his ship being of cloth of gold. He sat down before Boulogne, and took it after a seige of two months. It was soon after very near being retaken by a surprise; but the garrison being quickly put in order, beat out the French. Thus the King returned victorious; and was as much flattered for taking this single town, as if he had conquered a kingdom. The inroads that were made into Scotland this winter were unsuccessful.

1545.

The King of France set out a fleet of above three hundred ships, and the King set out an hundred sail: on both sides they were only merchantmen hired upon this occasion. The French made two descents upon England, but were beat back with loss. The English made a descent in Normandy, and burned some towns. The Princes of Germany saw their danger if this war went on; for the Pope and Emperor had made a league for procuring obedience to the Council that was now opened at Trent. The Emperor was raising an army, though he had made peace, both with the King of France and the Turk; and was resolved to make good use of this opportunity, the two Crowns being now in war. So the Germans sent to mediate

BOOK I.

a peace between them; but it stuck long at the business of Boulogne.

1545. Edward Lee, Archbishop of York, died this year. Holgate was removed from Landaff thither, who in his heart favoured the reformation. Kitchin was put in Landaff, who turned with every change that was made. Heath was removed from Rochester to Worcester, and Holbeach was put in Rochester. Day was made Bishop of Chichester. All those were moderate men, and well disposed to a reformation, at least to comply with it.

Wishart burnt in Scotland.

This year Wishart was burnt in Scotland: he was educated at Cambridge, and went home the former year. In many places he preached against idolatry, and the other abuses in religion. He stayed long at Dundee; but by the means that Cardinal Beaton used, he was driven out of that town; and at his departure he denounced heavy judgments on them, for rejecting the Gospel. He went and preached in many other places; and, entrance to the churches being denied him, he preached in the fields. He would not suffer the people to open the church doors by violence, for that he said, became not the Gospel of peace which he preached to them. He heard the plague had broke out in Dundee, within four days after he was banished; so he returned thither, and took care of the sick, and did all the offices of a faithful pastor among them. He shewed his gentleness towards his enemies, by rescuing a priest that was coming to kill him, but was discovered, and was like to have been torn in pieces by the people. He foretold several extraordinary things, particularly his own sufferings, and the spreading the reformation over the land. He preached last in Lothian, and there the Earl of Bothwell took him, but promised, upon his honour, that no harm should be done him; yet he delivered him to the Cardinal, who brought him to St. Andrew's, and called a meeting of Bishops thither, to destroy him with the more solemnity. The Governor being much pressed to it by a worthy gentleman of his

name, Hamilton of Preston, sent the Cardinal word not to proceed against him, till he should come and hear the matter examined himself. But the Cardinal went on, and in a public court condemned him as a heretic, upon several articles that were objected to him, which he confessed, and offered to justify. The night after that he spent in prayer: next morning he desired he might have the sacrament according to Christ's institution in both kinds; but that being denied him, he consecrated the elements himself, and some about him were willing to communicate with him. He was carried out to the stake near the Cardinal's palace; who was set in state in a great window, and looked on this sad spectacle. Wishart declared, that he felt much joy within himself in offering up his life for the name of Christ, and exhorted the people not to be offended at the Word of God, for the sake of the cross. After the fire was set to, and was burning him, he said, "This flame has scorched my body, "but hath not daunted my spirits;" and he foretold, "that the Cardinal should in a few days be "ignominiously laid out in that very place where "he now sat in so much state." But as he spake that, the executioner drew the cord that was about his neck so straight, that these were the last words.

BOOK I.

1545.

The Clergy rejoiced much at his death, and extolled the Cardinal's courage for proceeding in it against the Governor's orders. But the people looked on him as both a prophet and a martyr. It was also said that his death was no less than murder, since no writ was obtained for it; and the Clergy could burn none without a warrant from the secular power: so it was inferred that the Cardinal deserved to die for it; and if his greatness set him above the law, then private persons might execute that which the Governor could not do: such practices had been formerly too common in that kingdom; and now upon this occasion some gentlemen of quality came to think it would be an heroical action to conspire his death. His insolence had

BOOK I.

1545.

rendered him generally very hateful: so private and public resentments concurring, twelve persons entered into a fatal engagement of killing him privately in his house. On the 30th of May they first surprised the gate early in the morning; and though there were an hundred lodged in the castle, yet they being asleep, they came to them apart, and either turned them out, or shut them up in their chambers. Having made all sure, they came to the Cardinal's chamber door: he was fast asleep, but by their rudeness he was both awakened, and perceived they had a design on his life. Upon the assurance of life, he opened his door, but they did cruelly and treacherously murder him, and laid out his body in the same window from which he had looked on Wishart's execution. Some few justified this fact, as the killing of a robber and murderer; but it was more generally condemned by all sorts of people, even by those who hated him most; yet the accomplishment of Wishart's prediction made great impressions on many. On the other hand, it was afterwards observed, that scarce any of the conspirators died an ordinary death. They kept out the castle, and about one hundred and forty came in to them, and they held it near two years, being assisted by money and provisions that were sent from England. They had also the Governor at their mercy; for they kept his eldest son, whom the Cardinal had taken into his care for his education. An absolution was brought from Rome, and a pardon was offered them: and at last, being straitened both at sea and land, they rendered the place upon assurance of life. This infamous action was a great blemish upon the reformers, who, though they did not directly justify it, yet extenuated it, and gave it some countenance; for two of them went in and preached to the garrison in the castle.

In England a Parliament met, in which, as the spirituality gave a subsidy of six shillings in the pound, payable in two years; so the temporality not only gave a subsidy for the war, but confirmed

all the surrenders that had been made of chantries, chapels, colleges, hospitals, and other foundations, for saying masses, for departed souls: and they empowered the King, during his life, to grant commissions for seizing on the rest of them. Yet the King found this was like to give new discontent to the gentry, to whom these belonged; so he made but a small progress in it, and many were reserved to his son's courtiers to feed on. The King dismissed the Parliament with a long speech, "in "which, after he had thanked them for their bills, "he exhorted them to charity and concord in matters of religion; and to forbear all terms of reproach, such as Papist and Heretic: he complained much of the stiffness of some churchmen, "and of the indiscretion of others, who both gave "ill example and sowed the seeds of discord among "the laity. He, as God's Vicar, thought himself "bound to see these things corrected: he reproved the temporality for the ill use they made "of the Scripture; for, instead of being taught out "of it to live better, and to be more charitable to "one another, they only railed at one another, "and made songs out of it, to disgrace those that "differed from them; so he exhorted them to "serve God, and love one another, which he would "esteem the best expression of their duty and "obedience to him." The King had appointed a distribution of 550*l.* a year in several cathedrals for the poor, and about 400*l.* for highways: so this year some Bishops were appointed to see whether those payments were made as he had ordered, or not. The Universities were now in danger of having their colleges suppressed; but upon their applications to the King, they were delivered from their fears.

BOOK I. — 1545.

Now came on the last year of this reign. The war with France was this year unsuccessful; but upon the Earl of Surry's being recalled, and the Earl of Hertford's being sent in his room, things turned a little. This raised such animosity between those two Lords, that they became fatal to the

A peace with France.

BOOK I. 1545.

former. The two Kings were at last brought to consent to a peace; the main article of it was, that within eight years Boulogne should be delivered up, the taking and keeping of which cost England thirteen hundred thousand pounds. Upon this peace Annebault the French Admiral was sent over ambassador. The Council of Trent was now sitting; Pole was made a Legate to do the King the more spite: the Emperor and the Pope governed it as they pleased: so the two Crowns resolved to unite more firmly; particularly it was proposed, that the mass should be turned to a communion; and Cranmer was ordered to prepare the office for it: but this was too great a design for two old Kings to accomplish.

Anne Aiscough and others burnt.

There was at this time a new prosecution of those that denied the corporal presence in the Sacrament. Shaxton was accused of some words about it; but he abjured, and complied so entirely, that soon after he preached the sermon at the burning of Anne Aiscough. He made no noise all King Edward's time; yet in Queen Mary's reign he was a persecutor of Protestants, but was so little esteemed, that, though he had been Bishop of Salisbury, he was raised no higher than to be Bishop Suffragan of Ely. Several other persons were at this time indicted upon the same statute, but most of them recanted. Anne Aiscough stood firm: she was descended from a good family, and had been well educated, but was unhappily married; for her husband being a violent Papist drove her out of his house, when he discovered her inclinations to the Reformation. She was put in prison on the account of the Sacrament, but signed a recantation, and so was set at liberty; yet not long after she was committed again upon a new complaint, and was examined before the Privy Council, but answered with extraordinary resolution; yet it was thought by some that she was too forward in her manner of speaking: she had been much at Court, and it was believed she was supported by some ladies there; so, in order to the

1546.

discovery of this, she was carried to the Towe and racked; yet she confessed nothing. Wriothesly was present, and commanded the Lieutenant of the Tower to draw the rack a little more: but he refused to do it: upon which the Chancellor laid aside his gown, and drew it himself with so much force, as if he had intended to rend her body asunder; and the effects of this were so violent, that she was not able to go to Smithfield, but was carried thither in a chair, when she was burnt: two others were also condemned on the same account; and Shaxton, to complete his apostasy, after he had in vain endeavoured to persuade him to abjure, preached the sermon at their burning, in which he inveighed severely against their errors. The Lord Chancellor came to Smithfield, and offered them their pardons if they would recant; but they chose rather to glorify God by their deaths, than to dishonour him by so foul an apostasy. There were two burnt in Suffolk, and one in Norfolk, on the same account this year.

Designs against Cranmer.

But the Popish party hoped to have greater sacrifices offered up to their revenge: they had laid a train last year for Cranmer, and they had laid one now for the Queen. They persuaded the King, that Cranmer was the source of all the heresy that was in England; but the King's partiality to him was such, that none would come in against him: so they desired that he might be once put in the Tower, and then it would appear how many would inform against him. The King seemed to consent to this, and they resolved to execute it the next day: but in the night the King sent for Cranmer, and told him what was resolved concerning him. Cranmer thanked the King for giving him notice of it, and not leaving him to be surprised. He submitted to it; only he desired he might be heard to answer for himself, and that he might have indifferent judges who understood those matters. The King wondered to see him so little concerned in his own preservation; but told him, he must take care of him, since he took so little care of himself.

BOOK I. 1546.

The King therefore gave him instructions to appear before the Council, and to desire to see his accusers before he should be sent to the Tower; and that he might be used by them as they would desire to be used in the like case: and if he could not prevail by the force of reason, then he was to appeal to the King in person, and was to shew the King's sealring, which he took from his finger, and gave him; and they knew it all so well, that they would do nothing after they once saw that. So he being summoned next morning, came over to Whitehall: he was kept long in the lobby before he was called in: but when that was done, and he had observed the method the King had ordered him to use, and had at last shewed the ring, they rose all in great confusion, and went to the King. He chid them severely for what they had done, and expressed his esteem and kindness to Cranmer in such terms, that his enemies were glad to get off, by pretending, that they had no other design but to have his innocence declared in a public trial; and were now so convinced of the King's unalterable favour to him, that they never made any more attempts upon him.

And against the Queen.

But what they durst not do in relation to Cranmer, they thought might be more safely tried against the Queen, who was known to love the *new learning*, which was the common phrase for the Reformation. She used to have sermons in her privy-chamber, which could not be so secretly carried, but that it came to the King's knowledge: yet her conduct in all other things was so exact, and she expressed such a tender care of the King's person, that it was observed she had gained much upon him; but his peevishness growing with his distempers, made him sometimes uneasy even to her. They used often to talk of matters of religion; and sometimes she held up the argument for the Reformers so stiffly, that he was offended at it; yet as soon as that appeared, she let it fall; but once the debate continuing long, the King expressed his displeasure at it to Gardiner, when she went away. He took

BOOK I.

1546.

hold of this opportunity to persuade the King that she was a great cherisher of heretics. Wriothesly joined with him in the same artifice, and filled the angry King's head with many stories; insomuch that he signed the articles upon which she was to be impeached. But Wriothesly let that paper fall from him carelessly, and it happened to be taken up by one of the Queen's friends, who carried it to her: upon which she went to the King, and brought on a discourse of religion; and after a little opposition, she yielded, and seemed convinced by the King's reasons, and told him, that she only held up that argument to be instructed by him, and sometimes to engage him in discourse, and so to make him forget his pains; and this she seconded with such flattery, that he was perfectly satisfied and reconciled to her. Next day, as he was walking with her in the garden, Wriothesly came thither on design to have carried her to the Tower; but the King chid him severely for it, and was heard to call him knave and fool. The good-natured Queen interposed to mitigate his displeasure; but the King told her, she had no reason to be concerned for him. Thus the design against her vanished, and Gardiner, that had set it on, lost the King's favour entirely by it.

The Duke of Norfolk's fall.

But now the fall of the Duke of Norfolk, and his son the Earl of Surry, came on. The father had been long Treasurer, and had served the King with great fidelity and success: his son was a man of rare qualities; he had a great wit, and was more than ordinary learned. He particularly hated the Earl of Hertford, and scorned an alliance with him, which his father had projected. The Duke of Norfolk had intended to unite his family to the Seymours, by marrying his son to the Earl of Hertford's daughter, and his daughter, the Duchess of Richmond, to Sir Thomas Seymour: but both his children refused to comply with him in it. The Seymours were apprehensive of the opposition they might meet with, if the King should die, from the Earl of Surry, who was a high-spirited man, had a

BOOK I.

1546.

vast fortune, and was the head of the Popish party. It was likewise suspected, that he kept himself unmarried in hopes of marrying the Lady Mary. The Duke's family was also fatally divided: his Duchess had been separated from him about four years, and now turned informer against him. His daughter did also hate her brother, and was a spy upon him. One Holland, a whore of the Duke's, did also betray him, and discovered all she could; yet all amounted to no more than some complaints of the father's, who thought the services he had done the Crown were little regarded; and some threatenings of the son's. It was also said, that the father gave the coat of arms that belonged to the Prince of Wales, and the son gave Edward the Confessor's coat; but that was only a pretence to make a noise among the people, and to cover the want of more important matter against them. One Southwell objected things of a higher nature to the Earl of Surrey. He denied them, and desired, that, according to the martial law, they might have a trial by combat, and fight in their shirts: but that was not granted; yet both father and son were put in the Tower.

1547. The Earl of Surry executed.

The Earl of Surry was tried by a jury of commoners, and was found guilty of treason, and executed on the 19th of January. He was much lamented; and the blame of his death being cast on the Seymours, raised a general odium against them. The old Duke saw a Parliament called to destroy him by an act of attainder, for there was not matter enough to ruin him at common law; so, to prevent that, he made such humble submission to the King, as would have mollified any that had not bowels of brass. He wrote to him, "that he "had spent his whole life in his service, without "having so much as a thought to his prejudice. "He had obeyed all the King's laws, and was re-"solved to obey all that ever he should make. He "begged that he might be heard, with his accu-"sers, face to face. He prayed that the K[illegible] "would take all his lands and goods, and only [illegible]

"store him to his favour, and grant him such "an allowance to live on as he thought fit. He "went further, and set his hand to a confession "of several crimes; as, 1. His revealing the secrets "of the King's Council. 2. His concealing his "son's treason, in giving the arms of Edward the "Confessor. 3. His own giving the arms of Eng-"land, with the labels of silver which belonged "only to the Prince, which he acknowledged was "high treason, and therefore he begged the King's "mercy." But all this had no effect on the King, though his drawing so near his end ought to have begot in him a greater regard to the shedding of innocent blood.

And the Duke attainted by act of Parliament.

When the Parliament met, the King was not able to come to Westminster, but he sent his pleasure to them by a commission. He intended to have Prince Edward crowned Prince of Wales; and therefore desired they would make all possible haste in the attainder of the Duke of Norfolk, that so the places which he held by patent might be disposed of to others, who should assist at the coronation: which, though it was a very slight excuse for so high a piece of injustice, yet it had that effect, that in seven days both Houses passed the bill. On the 27th of January the royal assent was given by those commissioned by the King; and the execution was ordered to be next morning. There was no special matter in the act, but that of the coat of arms, which he and his ancestors were used to give, according to the records in the Herald's office; so that this was condemned by all persons as a most inexcusable act of tyranny. But the night after this the King died; and it was thought contrary to the decencies of government, to begin a new reign with so unjustifiable an act as the beheading of the old Duke, and so he was preserved: yet both sides made inferences from this calamity that fell on him. The Papists said, it was God's just judgment on him for his obsequiousness to King Henry: but the Protestants said, it was a just return on him for what he had done against

BOOK I.

1547.

Cromwell, and many others, on account of the six Articles. Cranmer would not meddle in this matter; but, that he might be out of the way, he retired to Croydon; whereas Gardiner, that had been his friend all along, continued still about the Court.

The King's sickness.

The King's distemper had been growing long upon him. He was become so corpulent, that he could not go up and down stairs, but made use of an engine when he intended to walk in his garden, by which he was let down and drawn up. He had an old sore in his leg, which pained him much, the humours of his body discharging themselves that way, till at last all settled in a dropsy. Those about him were afraid to let him know that his death seemed near, lest that might have been brought within the statute of foretelling his death, which was made treason. His will was made ready, and, as it was given out, was signed by him on the 30th of December. He had made one at his last going over to France. All the change that he made at this time was, that he ordered Gardiner's name to be struck out: for in that formerly made he was named one of the executors. When Sir Anthony Brown endeavoured to persuade him not to put that disgrace on an old servant, he continued positive in it; for he said he knew his temper, and could govern him; but it would not be in the power of others to do it, if he were put in so high a trust. The most material thing in the will was, the preferring the children of his second sister, by Charles Brandon, to the children of his eldest sister the Queen of Scotland, in the succession to the crown. Some objections were made to the validity and truth of the will. It was not signed by the King's hand, as it was directed by the act of Parliament, but only stamped with his name; and it was said, this was done when he was dying, without any order given for it by himself; for proof of which, the Scots that were most concerned appealed to many witnesses, and chiefly to a deposition which the Lord Paget had made, who was then Secretary of State. On his death-bed he finished the

1547.

foundation of Trinity College in Cambridge, and of Christ-Church Hospital near Newgate; yet this last was not so fully settled as was needful, till his son completed what he had begun.

And death.

On the 27th of January his spirits sunk so, that it was visible he had not long to live. Sir Anthony Denny took the courage to tell him, that death was approaching, and desired him to call on God for his mercy. The King expressed in general his sorrow for his past sins, and his trust in the mercies of God in Christ Jesus. He ordered Cranmer to be sent for, but he was speechless before he could be brought from Croydon; yet he gave a sign that he understood what he said to him, and soon after he died in the fifty-seventh year of his age, after he had reigned thirty-seven years and nine months. His death was concealed three days; for the Parliament, which was dissolved with his last breath, continued to do business till the 31st, and then his death was published. It is probable the Seymours concealed it so long, till they made a party for the putting the government into their own hands.

An account of his severities against the priests.

The severities he used against many of his subjects in matters of religion made both sides write with great sharpness of him. His temper was imperious and cruel: he was both sudden and violent in his revenges, and stuck at nothing by which he could either gratify his lust or his passion. This was much provoked, by the sentence the Pope thundered against him, by the virulent books Cardinal Pole and others published, by the rebellions that were raised in England, and the apprehensions he was in of the Emperor's greatness, and of the inclinations his people had to have joined with him, together with what he had read in history of the fates of those Princes, against whom Popes had thundered in former times: all which made him think it necessary to keep his people under the terror of a severe government; and by some public examples to secure the peace of the nation, and thereby to prevent a more profuse effusion of blood, which might have otherwise followed if he had been

BOOK I.

1547. The Carthusians in particular.

more gentle. And it was no wonder if, after the Pope deposed him, he proceeded to great severities against all those which supported that authority.

The first instance of capital proceedings upon that account was in Easter term, 1535, in which three priors and a monk of the Carthusian order were condemned of treason, for saying, that the King was not supreme head of the Church of England. It was then only a *præmunire* not to swear to the supremacy, but it was made treason to deny it, or speak against it. Hall, a secular priest, was at the same time condemned of treason, "for calling the King a tyrant, an heretic, a robber, and "an adulterer; and saying, that he would die as "King John or Richard the Third died; and that "it would never be well with the Church till the "King was brought to pot: and that they looked "when Ireland and Wales would rise, and were "assured that three parts of four in England would "join with them." All these pleaded not guilty: but being condemned, they justified what they had said. The Carthusians were hanged in their habits. Soon after that, three Carthusians were condemned, and executed at London, and two more at York, upon the same account, for opposing the King's supremacy. Ten other monks were shut up in their cells, of whom nine died there, and one was condemned and hanged. These had been all complices in the business of the Maid of Kent; and though that was pardoned, yet it gave the government ground to have a watchful eye over them, and to proceed more severely against them upon the first provocation.

Fisher's sufferings.

After these, Fisher and More were brought to their trials: Pope Clement's officious kindness to Fisher in declaring him a Cardinal did hasten his ruin, though he was little concerned at that honour that was done him. He was tried by a jury of commoners, and was found guilty of treason, for having spoken against the King's supremacy: but, instead of the common death in cases of treason, the King ordered him to be beheaded. On the 22d

BOOK I. 1547.

of June he suffered. He dressed himself with more than ordinary care that day; for he said, it was to be his wedding-day. As he was led out, he opened the New Testament at a venture, and prayed, that such a place might turn up as might comfort him in his last moments. The words on which he cast his eyes were, *This is life eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.* So he shut the book, and continued meditating on these words to the last. On the scaffold he repeated the *Te Deum*, and so laid his head on the block, which was severed from his body. He was a learned and devout man, but much addicted to superstition, and too cruel in his temper against heretics. He had been confessor to the King's grandmother, and persuaded her to found two colleges in Cambridge, Christ's and Saint John's; in acknowledgment of which he was chosen Chancellor of the University. Henry the Seventh made him Bishop of Rochester: he would never exchange that for any other: he said his church was his wife, and he would not part with his wife because she was poor. He was much esteemed by the King, till the suit of the divorce was set on foot, and then he adhered stiffly to the marriage, and the Pope's supremacy, and that made him too favourable to the Nun of Kent. But the severities of his long imprisonment, together with this bloody conclusion of it, were universally condemned all the world over; only Gardiner employed his servile pen to write a vindication of the King's proceedings against him. It was writ in elegant Latin, but the style was thought too vehement.

More's death.

It was harder to find matter against Sir Thomas More; for he was very cautious, and satisfied his own conscience by not swearing the supremacy, but would not speak against it. He said, "the "act had two edges; if he consented to it, it "would damn his soul; and if he spoke against it, "it would condemn his body. This was all the "message he sent to Fisher, when he desired to "know his opinion about it; he had also said the

BOOK I.

1547.

"same to the Duke of Norfolk, and some coun-"sellors that came to examine him: and Rich, "then the King's Solicitor, coming as a private "friend to persuade him to swear the oath, urged "him with the act of Parliament, and asked him, "if he should be made King by act of Parliament, "would not he acknowledge him? He answered, "he would, because *a King might be made or de-"prived by a Parliament.* But the matter of the "supremacy was a point of religion, to which the "Parliament's authority did not extend itself." All this Rich witnessed against him: so these particulars were laid together, as amounting to a denial of the King's supremacy; and upon this he was judged guilty of treason. He received his sentence with that equal temper of mind which he had shewed in both conditions of life. He expressed great contempt of the world, and much weariness in living in it. His ordinary facetiousness remained with him to his last moment on the scaffold. Some censured that as affected and indecent, and as having more of the Stoick than the Christian in it. But others said, that way of raillery had been so customary to him, that death did not discompose him, nor put him out of his ordinary humour. He was beheaded on the 6th of July, in the fifty-second or fifty-third year of his age. He had great capacities and eminent virtues. In his youth he had freer thoughts, but he was afterwards much corrupted by superstition, and became fierce for all the interests of the Clergy. He wrote much in defence of all the old abuses. His learning in divinity was but ordinary; for he had read little more than some of St. Austin's Treatises, and the Canon Law, and the Master of the Sentences, beyond whom his quotations do seldom go. His style was natural and pleasant; and he could turn things very dexterously to make them look well or ill, as it served his purpose. But though he suffered for denying the King's supremacy, yet he was at first no zealot for the Pope: for he says of himself, "that when the King shewed him his book

"manuscript, which he wrote against Luther, he "advised him to leave out that which he had put "in it concerning the Pope's power; for he did "not know what quarrels he might have afterwards "with the Popes, and then that would be turned "against him." But the King was perhaps fond of what he had written, and so he would not follow that wise advice which he gave him.

BOOK I. 1547.

Attainders after the rebellion.

There were no executions after this, till the rebellions of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire gave new occasions to severity; and then not only the Lords of Darcy and Hussy, but six abbots, and many gentlemen, the chief of whom was Sir Thomas Piercy, (brother to the Earl of Northumberland,) were attainted. They had not only been in the rebellion, but had forfeited the general pardon, by their new attempts after it was proclaimed: yet some said, the King took advantage on very slight grounds to break his indemnity. But, on the other hand, it was no wonder if he proceeded with the utmost rigour against those who had raised such a storm in the kingdom, and in particular against those abbots and monks who had sworn to maintain his supremacy, and yet were the chief incendiaries that had set the kingdom on fire.

Forrest was burnt.

One Forrest, an Observant Friar, had been Queen Catharine's Confessor, but forsook her interests; and not only swore to the King's supremacy, but used such insinuations, that he had a large share of the King's favour and confidence. He was looked on as a reproach to his order, and used great cruelties in their house at Greenwich. He shut up one that he believed gave intelligence of all they did to the Court; and used him so ill, that he died in their hands. It was also found, that in secret confession he had alienated many from the King's supremacy; and being questioned for it, he said, *He had taken the oath for it only with his outward man, but his inward man had never consented to it.* But he offered to recant and abjure this opinion; yet being afterwards diverted from that, he was con-

BOOK I.

1547.

demned as an heretic, and was burnt in Smithfield. A pardon was offered him at the stake if he would recant; but he refused it. A great image that was brought out of Wales was hewed in pieces, and served for fuel to burn him. The writers of that time say, he denied the Gospel, and that he had little knowledge of God in his life, and shewed less trust in him at his death.

1538. The attainders of Cardinal Pole's friends.

The winter after this, a correspondence was discovered between Cardinal Pole and Courtney Marquis of Exeter, and Pole's brother the Lord Montacute, and several others. It was believed, that Sir Geoffrey Pole, another of the brothers, betrayed the rest. They had expressed some kindness for the Cardinal and his proceedings; and had said, that they looked to see a change in England; and that they hoped the King would die ere long, and then all would go well; with several other words to that purpose, for which they were attainted, and executed. Others were also condemned for calling the King a *beast, and worse than a beast;* and that he would be certainly damned for plucking down the abbeys. Cardinal Pole, and several others, that had fled out of the kingdom, and had confederated themselves with the Pope against the King, were also attainted. Sir Nicholas Carew, Master of the Horse, and Knight of the Garter, was likewise condemned for having said, that the attainder of the Marquis of Exeter *was cruel and unjust.* He renounced the superstitions of Popery, and embraced the Reformation before he suffered.

1539. Attainders in Parliament without hearing the parties.

After these judgments and executions were over, a new and unheard of precedent was made, of attainting some without bringing them to make their answers, which is a blemish on this reign, that can never be washed off, and was a breach of the most sacred and unalterable rules of justice. The first that were so condemned were the Marchioness of Exeter and the Countess of Sarum, mother to Cardinal Pole. The special matter charged on the former was, her confederating herself with Sir Nicholas Carew; and that against the other was, the

BOOK I.

1539.

confederating with her son, Cardinal Pole. No witnesses were examined to prove these things against them; perhaps some depositions might have been read in Parliament. Cromwell shewed a coat which was found among the Countess of Sarum's clothes, on which the standard used by the Yorkshire rebels was wrought; from which it was inferred, that she approved of them. Fourteen others were attainted by the same act: six of them were priests, one was a Knight Hospitaller, four were gentlemen, one was a merchant, and two were yeomen. All were condemned for confederating with the Pope, or Cardinal Pole; or asserting the Pope's supremacy; or endeavouring to raise rebellion: but against four of them there is nothing but treason in general words alleged. This bill was passed in two days by the Lords, and in five by the Commons: but of all these, only three were executed; these were the Countess of Sarum, though not till two years after this; and Sir Adrian Fortescue, and Dingley, the Knight of St. John of Jerusalem. In the Countess of Sarum did the name of Plantagenet end. She was about seventy years old, but shewed that in that age she had a vigorous and masculine mind.

In the Parliament that sate in the year 1540, several others were attainted in the same manner without being heard, and for the same crimes. Fetherston, Abel, and Powel, and six more, were so condemned; but those three only suffered. By another act of the same Parliament, the Lord Hungerford, and his chaplain Bird, were attainted: his chaplain had often persuaded him to rebel; and had said, that the King was the greatest heretic in the world. Hungerford had also ordered some of his other chaplains to use conjuring, that they might know how long the King would live, and whether he would be victorious over his enemies. He was also charged for having lived in sodomy with several of his servants three years together. He was soon after executed, and died in great disorder.

BOOK I.

1547.

In the year 1541, five priests and ten laymen were stirring up the people in the North to a new rebellion; but it was prevented, and they suffered for it. In the year 1543, Gardiner that was the Bishop of Winchester's secretary, and three other priests, were condemned and executed for denying the King's supremacy: and this was the last occasion that was given to the King to shew his severity on that account. In all these executions it cannot be denied but the laws were excessively severe, and the proceedings upon them were never tempered with that mildness which ought to be often applied for the mitigating the rigour of penal laws: but though they are much aggravated by Popish writers, they were far short of the cruelties used in Queen Mary's reign.

To conclude, we have now gone through the reign of King Henry the Eighth, who is rather to be reckoned among the great than the good Princes. He exercised so much severity on men of both persuasions, that the writers of both sides have laid open his faults, and taxed his cruelty. But as neither of them were much obliged to him, so none have taken so much care to set forth his good qualities, as his enemies have done to enlarge on his vices. I do not deny that he is to be numbered among the ill Princes, yet I cannot rank him with the worst.

AN

ABRIDGMENT

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

BOOK II.

Of the Life and Reign of King Edward the Sixth.

BOOK II.

1547. King Edward's birth and education.

EDWARD was the only son of King Henry, by his best beloved wife, Jane Seymour, born the twelfth of October, 1537.

His mother died the day after he was born, of a distemper incident to women in her condition; and was not ripped up by chirurgeons, as some writers have reported, on design to represent King Henry as barbarous and cruel to all his wives. At six years of age he was put into the hands of Dr. Cox and Mr. Cheek: the one was to form his mind, and to teach him philosophy and divinity; the other was to teach him the tongues and mathematics: other masters were also appointed for the other parts of his education. He discovered very early a good disposition to religion and virtue, and a particular reverence for the Scriptures; for he took it very ill, when one about him laid a great Bible on the floor to step up on it to somewhat which was out of his reach without such an advantage. He profited well in letters, and wrote, at eight years old, Latin letters frequently both to the King, to

BOOK II. 1547.

Queen Catharine Parr, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and his uncle the Earl of Hertford, who had been first made Viscount Beauchamp, being the heir by his mother of that family, and was after that advanced to be an Earl.

In the end of his father's life it had been designed to create him Prince of Wales: for that was one of the reasons given to hasten the attainder of the Duke of Norfolk, because he held some places during life which the King intended to put in other hands, in order to that ceremony. Upon his father's death, the Earl of Hertford and Sir Anthony Brown were sent to bring him up to the Tower of London: and when King Henry's death was published, he was proclaimed King.

King Henry's testament.

At his coming to the Tower, his father's will was opened, by which it was found that he had named sixteen to be the governors of the kingdom, and of his son's person, till he should be eighteen years of age. These were the Archbishop of Canterbury; the Lord Wriothesly, Lord Chancellor; Lord St. John, Great Master; Lord Russel, Lord Privy Seal; Earl of Hertford, Lord Great Chamberlain; Viscount Lisle, Lord Admiral; Tonstall, Bishop of Durham; Sir Anthony Brown, Master of the Horse; Sir William Paget, Secretary of State; Sir Edward North, Chancellor of the Augmentations; Sir Edward Montague, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; Judge Bromley, Sir Anthony Denny, and Sir William Herbert, Chief Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber; Sir Edward Wotton, Treasurer of Calais; and Dr. Wotton, Dean of Canterbury and York. They were also to give the King's sisters in marriage; and if they married without their consent, they were to forfeit their right of succession: for the King was empowered, by act of Parliament, to leave the crown to them with what limitations he should think fit to appoint. There was also a Privy Council named, to be their assistants in the government. If any of the sixteen died, the survivors were to continue in the administration, without a power to substitute others in

their rooms who should die. It was now proposed, that one should be chosen out of the sixteen, to whom ambassadors should address themselves, and who should have the chief direction of affairs; but should be restrained to do nothing but by the consent of the greater part of the other co-executors. The Chancellor, who thought the precedence fell to him by his office, since the Archbishop did not meddle much in secular affairs, opposed this much, and said, it was a change of the King's will, who had made them all equal in power and dignity; and if any were raised above the rest in title, it would not be possible to keep him within due bounds, since great titles make way for high power. But the Earl of Hertford had so prepared his friends, that it was carried, that he should be declared the Governor of the King's person, and the Protector of the kingdom, with this restriction, that he should do nothing but by the advice and consent of the rest. Upon this advancement, and the opposition made to it, two parties were formed; the one headed by the Protector, and the other by the Chancellor: the favourers of the Reformation were of the former, and those that opposed it were of the latter. The Chancellor was ordered to renew the commissions of the judges and justices of the peace; and King Henry's great seal was to be made use of till a new one should be made. The day after this, all the executors took their oaths to execute their trust faithfully. The Privy Counsellors were also brought into the King's presence, who did all express their satisfaction in the choice that was made of the Protector: and it was ordered, that all dispatches to foreign Princes should be signed only by him. All that held offices were required to come and renew their commissions, and to swear allegiance to the King. Among the rest, the Bishops came and took out such commissions as were granted in the former reign; only by those they were subaltern to the King's Vicegerent: but there being none now in that office, they were immediately subaltern to the King; and by them they were to hold their bishop-

A Protector chosen.

Bishops take out commissions.

BOOK II.

1547.

rics only during the King's pleasure, and were empowered in the King's name, as his delegates, to perform all the parts of the episcopal function. Cranmer set an example to the rest, in taking out one of those. It was thought fit thus to keep the Bishops under the terror of such an arbitrary power lodged in the King, that so it might be more easy to turn them out, if they should much oppose what might be done in points of religion: but the ill-consequences of such an unlimited power being well foreseen, the Bishops that were afterwards promoted were not so fettered, but were provided to hold their bishoprics during life.

A creation of noblemen.

The late King had, in his will, required his executors to perform all the promises he had made. So Paget was required to give an account of the promises the late King had made; and he declared upon oath, that upon the prospect of the attainder of the Duke of Norfolk, the King intended a creation of Peers, and to divide his lands among them. The persons to be raised were, Hertford to be a Duke; Essex a Marquis; Lisle, Russel, St. John, and Wriothesly, to be Earls; Sir Thomas Seymour, Cheyney, Rich, Willoughby, Arundel, Sheffield, St. Leger, Wymbish, Vernon, and Danby, to be Barons; and a division was to be made of the Duke of Norfolk's estate among them. Some shares were also set off for others, who were not to be advanced in title, as Denny and Herbert: and they finding Paget had been mindful of them, but had not mentioned himself, had moved the King for a share to him. The King appointed Paget to give notice of this to the persons named; but many excused themselves, and desired no addition of honour, since the lands which the King intended to give them were not sufficient to support that dignity. The Duke of Norfolk prevented all this; for being apprehensive of the ruin of his family if his estate were once divided, he sent a message to the King, desiring him to convert it all to be a revenue to the Prince of Wales. This wrought so much on the King, that he resolved to reward those he intended

to raise another way, and he appointed that estate to be kept entire: and the King's distemper increasing on him, he at last came to a resolution, that the Earl of Hertford should be made a Duke, and be made both Earl Marshal and Lord Treasurer; the Earl of Essex a Marquis; Lisle and Wriothesly, Earls; and Seymour, Rich, Sheffield, St. Leger, Willoughby, and Danby, Barons, with revenues in lands to every one of them: and the Earl of Hertford was to have the first good deanery and treasurership, and the four best prebends that should fall in any cathedral. But though the King had resolved on this, and had ordered Paget to propose it to the persons concerned, yet his disease increased so fast on him, that he never finished it; and therefore he ordered his executors to perform all that should appear to have been promised by him. The greatest part of this was also confirmed by Denny and Herbert, to whom the King had talked of it, and had shewed the design of it in writing, as it had been agreed between Paget and him. So the executors being concerned in this themselves, it may be easily supposed that they determined to execute this part of their trust very faithfully: yet the King being then like to be engaged in wars, they resolved neither to lessen his treasure nor revenue, but to find another way for giving the rewards intended by the King; which was afterwards done by the sale and distribution of the chantry lands.

BOOK II.

1547.

The castle of St. Andrew's was then much pressed; so they sent down by Belnaves, the agent of that party, eleven hundred and eighty pounds for the pay of the garrison: they gave also pensions to the chief supporters of their interest in Scotland, to some 250*l.* to others 200*l.* or less, according to their interest in the country. The King received the ceremony of knighthood from the Protector, and knighted the Mayor of London the same day.

The grant of so many ecclesiastical dignities to the Earl of Hertford was no extraordinary thing at

Laymen and eccle-

BOOK II.

1547. siastical dignities.

that time; for as Cromwell had been Dean of Wells, so divers other laymen were provided to them; which was thus excused, because there was no cure of souls belonging to them: and during vacancies, even in times of popery, the Kings had by their own authority, by the right of the *Regale*, given institution to them; so that they seemed to be no spiritual employments, and the ecclesiastics that had enjoyed them had been a lazy and sensual sort of men: so that their abusing those revenues, either to luxury, or to the enriching their kindred by the spoils of the Church, had this effect, that the putting them in lay-hands gave no great scandal; and that the rather, because a simple tonsure qualified a man for them by the Canons. These foundations were at first designed for a nursery to the dioceses, in which the young Clergy were to be educated; or for a retreat to those who were more speculative, and not so fit for the service of the Church in the active parts of the pastoral care: so it had been an excellent design to have reformed them, and restored them to the purposes for which they were at first intended: and it was both against *Magna Charta*, and all natural equity, to take them out of the hands of churchmen, and give them to those of the laity. But it was no wonder to see men yet under the influence of the canon law commit such errors.

Some take down images.

At the same time an accident fell out, that made way for great changes. The curate and churchwardens of St. Martin's in London were brought before the Council for removing the crucifix, and other images, and putting some texts of Scripture on the walls of their church, in the places where they stood. They answered, that they going to repair their church, removed the images, and they being rotten, they did not renew them, but put places of Scripture in their room: they had also removed others, which they found had been abused to idolatry. Great pains was taken by the Popish party to punish them severely, for striking terror into others; but Cranmer was for the removing of

1547. Arguments for and against it.

all images, which were set up in churches expressly contrary both to the second commandment, and to the practice of the Christians for divers ages: and though, in compliance with the gross abuses of Paganism, there was very early much of the pomp of their worship brought into the Christian Church, yet it was long before this crept in. At first all images were condemned by the Fathers; then they allowed the use of them, but condemned the worshipping of them; and afterwards, in the eighth or ninth centuries, the worshipping of them was (after a long contest, both in the East and West, in which there were, by turns, General Councils, that both approved and condemned them) at last generally received; and then the reverence for them, and for some in particular, that were believed to be more wonderfully enchanted, was much improved by the cheats of the monks, who had enriched themselves by such means: and was grown to such a height, that heathenism itself had been guilty of nothing more absurd towards its idols; and the singular virtues in some images shewed they were not worshipped only as representations; for then all should have equal degrees of veneration paid to them. And since all these abuses had risen merely out of the bare use of them, and the setting them up being contrary to the command of God, and the nature of the Christian religion, which is simple and spiritual; it seemed most reasonable to cure the disease in its root, and to clear the churches of images, that so the people might be preserved from idolatry. These reasons prevailed so far, that the curate and wardens were dismissed with a reprimand; they were required to beware of such rashness for the future, and to provide a crucifix; and till that could be had, they were ordered to cause one to be painted on the wall. Upon this, Dr. Ridley, being to preach before the King, inveighed against the superstition towards images and holy-water; and there was a general disposition over all the nation to pull them down; which was soon after effected in Portsmouth. Upon that Gardiner made

BOOK II. 1547.

great complaints; he said, the Lutherans themselves went not so far, for he had seen images in their churches: he argued from the King's face on the coin and great seal, for the use of images; and that the law of Moses did no more bind in this particular, than in that of abstaining from blood: he distinguished between image and idol, as if the one, which he said was only condemned, was the representation of a false God, and the other of the true; and he thought, that as words conveyed by the ear begat devotion, so images, by the conveyance of the eye, might have the same effect on the mind: he also thought a virtue might be both in them and in holy-water, as well as there was in Christ's garments, Peter's shadow, or Elisha's staff: and there might be a virtue in holy-water, as well as in the water of baptism. He also mentioned the virtue that was in the cramp rings, blest by the late King, which he had known to be much esteemed and sought after; and he hoped their young King would not neglect that gift. But to these things, which Gardiner wrote in several letters, the Protector, perhaps by Cranmer's direction, wrote answer, that the Bishops had formerly argued much in another strain; that because the Scriptures were abused by the vulgar readers, therefore they were not to be trusted to them; and so made a pretended abuse the ground of taking away that, which by God's special appointment was to be delivered to all Christians: this did hold much stronger against images, that were forbidden by God. The brazen serpent set up by Moses, by God's own direction, was broken when abused to idolatry; for that was the greatest corruption of religion possible; and the civil respect paid to the King's image on a seal, or on the coin, did not justify the dotage upon images: but yet the Protector acknowledged he had reason to complain of the forwardness of the people, that broke down images without authority. This was the first step that was made in this reign towards a reformation, of which the sequel shall appear afterwards. Orders were sent to the justices of the

BOOK II.

1547.

peace, to look well to the peace and government of the nation, to meet often, and every six weeks to advertise the protector of the state of the country to which they belonged.

The King's funeral.

The funerals of the deceased King were performed with the ordinary ceremonies at Windsor. One thing gave those that hated him some advantages: his body was carried the first day to Sheen, which had been a nunnery, and there some of the moisture and fat dropped through the coffin; and to make it a complete accomplishment of Peyto's denunciation, that *dogs should lick his blood,* it was said the dogs next day licked it. This in a corpulent man was so far from a wonder, that it had been a wonder if it had been otherwise, and was a certain sign of nothing but the plumber's carelessness, and their weakness and malice that made such inferences from it. The King left six hundred pounds a year to the church at Windsor, for priests to say mass for his soul every day, and for four obits a year, and sermons and distribution of alms at every one of them, and for a sermon every Sunday, and a maintenance for thirteen poor knights; which was settled upon that church by his executors in due form of law.

Soul-masses examined.

The pomp of this endowment now in a more inquisitive age led people to examine the usefulness of soul-masses and obits. Christ appointed the Sacrament for a commemoration of his death among the living; but it was not easy to conceive how that was to be applied to departed souls; for all the good that they could receive seemed only applicable to the prayers for them; but bare prayers would not have wrought so much on the people, nor would they have paid so dear for them. It was a clear project for drawing in the wealth of the world into their hands. In the primitive Church there was a commemoration of the dead, or an honourable remembrance of them made in the daily Offices; and for some very small faults their names were not mentioned; which would not have been done, if they had looked upon that as a thing that was

BOOK II.

1547.

really a relief to them in another state. But even this custom grew to be abused; and some inferred from it, that departed souls, unless they were signally pure, passed through a purgation in the next life, before they were admitted to heaven; of which St. Austin, in whose time the opinion was beginning to be received, says, that it was taken up without any sure ground in Scripture. But what was wanting in Scripture-proof was supplied by visions, dreams, and tales, till it was generally received. King Henry had acted like one that did not much believe it; for he was to expect no good usage in purgatory from those souls whom he had deprived of the masses that were said for them in monasteries, by destroying those foundations: yet, it seems, he intended to make sure work for himself; so that if masses could avail the departed souls, he resolved to have his share of it; and as he gratified the priests by this part of his endowment, so he pleased the people by appointing sermons and alms to be given on such days. Thus he died, as he had lived, swimming between both persuasions. And it occasioned no small debate, when men sought to find out what his opinions were in the controverted points of religion: for the esteem he was in made both sides study to justify themselves, by seeming to follow his sentiments. The one party said, he was resolved never to alter religion, but only to cut off some abuses, and intended to go no further than he had gone: they did therefore vehemently press the others to innovate nothing, but to keep things in the state in which he left them, till his son should come of age. But the opposite party said, that he had resolved to go a great way further, and particularly to turn the mass to a communion; and therefore religion being of such consequence to the salvation of souls, it was necessary to make all the haste in reformation that was fitting and decent. But now the diversions of the coronation took them off from more serious thoughts. The Protector was made Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Essex Marquis of Northampton, the Lords

The coronation.

Lisle and Wriothesly Earls of Warwick and Southampton; Seymour, Rich, Willoughby, and Sheffield, were made Barons. In order to the King's coronation, the office for that ceremony was reviewed, and much shortened. One remarkable alteration was, that formerly the King used to be presented to the people at the corners of the scaffold, and they were asked, if they would have him to be their King? which looked like a rite of an election, rather than a ceremony of investing one that was already King. This was now changed, and the people were desired only to give their assents and good will to his coronation, as by the duty of allegiance they were bound to do. On the twentieth of February he was crowned, and a general pardon was proclaimed, out of which the Duke of Norfolk, Cardinal Pole, and some others, were excepted.

The Chancellor turned out.

The Chancellor, who was looked on as the head of the Popish party, gave now an advantage against himself, which was very readily laid hold on. He granted a commission to the Master of the Rolls, and three Masters of Chancery, of whom two were civilians, to execute his office in the court of Chancery, as if he were present; only their decrees were to be brought to him to be signed, before they should be enrolled. This being done without any authority from the Protector and the other executors, was thought a high presumption, since he did thereby devolve on others that trust which was deposited in his hands. Upon this some lawyers complained to the Protector; and they seemed also apprehensive of a design to change the common laws; which was occasioned by the decrees made by the civilians, that were more suited to the imperial than to the English laws. The judges being desired to give their opinions, made report, that what the Chancellor had done was against law, and that he had forfeited his place, and might be imprisoned for it during pleasure. But he carried it high; he threatened both the judges and lawyers; and when it was urged that he had forfeited his place, he said,

BOOK II.

1547.

he had it from the late King, who had likewise named him one of the executors during his son's minority. But it was answered, that the major part had power over any of the rest, otherwise one of them might rebel, and pretend he could not be punished by the rest. He being driven out of that, was more humble, and acknowledged he had no warrant for granting the commission: he thought by his office he might lawfully do it: he asked pardon for his offence, and desired he might lose his place with as little disgrace as was possible; and then it was resolved on by the rest, to take the seal from him, and to fine him as they should afterwards think fit. So he being suffered to go home with the seal, the Lord Seymour, and some others, were sent to demand it of him. He was also confined to his house, and kept under the terror of an arbitrary fine: but upon giving a bond of four thousand pounds to be paid upon demand, he was freed from his confinement. Yet he was not put out of the trust of the King and the government; for, it seems, the Council did not look on that as a thing that was in their power to do.

March. Protector's patent.

Soon after this, the Protector took a patent for his office under the great seal, then in the keeping of the Lord St. John; by which he was confirmed in his authority till the King should be eighteen years of age. He was also authorized to bring in new counsellors, besides those enumerated in the patent, who are both the executors and the counsellors nominated by the late King. The Protector, with so many of the Council as he thought meet, were empowered to administer the affairs of the kingdom; but the Council was limited to do nothing without his advice and consent. And thus was he now as well established in his authority as law could make him. He had a negative on the Council, but they had none on him; and he could either bring his own creatures into it, or select a cabinet council out of it, as he pleased: and the other executors having now delivered up their authority to him,

were only Privy Counsellors as the rest were, without retaining any singular authority peculiar to them, as was provided by King Henry's will. BOOK II.

1547. The affairs of Germany.

The first business of consequence that required great consideration was the Smalcaldic war, then begun between the Emperor and the Princes of that league; the effects of which, if the Emperor prevailed, were like to be, not only the extirpating of Lutheranism, but his being the absolute master of Germany; which the Emperor chiefly designed, in order to an universal monarchy, but disguised it to other Princes. To the Pope he pretended that his design was only to extirpate heresy: to other Princes he pretended it was only to repress some rebels, and denied all design of suppressing their new doctrines; which he managed so artificially, that he divided Germany itself, and got some Lutheran Princes to declare for him, and others to be neutrals: and having obtained a very liberal supply for his wars with France and the Turk, for which he granted an edict for liberty of religion, he made peace with both those Princes, and resolved to employ that treasure which the Germans had given him against themselves. That he might deprive them of their chief allies, he used means to engage King Henry and Francis the First in a war; but that was chiefly by their interposition composed. And now when the war was like to be carried on with great vigour, they lost both those Princes; for as Henry died in January, so Francis followed him into another world in March following. Many of their confederates began to capitulate and forsake them; and the divided command of the Duke of Saxe and the Landgrave of Hesse lost them great advantages the former year; in which it had been easy to have driven the Emperor out of Germany: but it fell often out, that when one was for engaging, the other was against it; which made many very doubtful of their success. The Pope had a mind to engage the Emperor in a war in Germany, that so Italy might be at quiet; and in order

BOOK II. 1547.

to that, and to embroil the Emperor with all the Lutherans, he published his treaty with him, that so it might appear that the design of the war was to extirpate heresy; though the Emperor was making great protestations to the contrary in Germany.

The Council of Trent.

He also opened the Council of Trent, which the Emperor had long desired in vain; but it was now brought upon him, when he least wished for it: for the Protestants did all declare, that they could not look upon it as a free General Council, since it was so entirely at the Pope's devotion, that not so much as a reformation of some of the grossest abuses, that could not be justified, was like to be obtained, unless clogged with such clauses as made it ineffectual: nor could the Emperor prevail with the Council not to proceed to establish the doctrine, and condemn heresy; but the more he obstructed that by delays, the more did the Pope drive it on to open the eyes of the Germans, and engage them all vigorously against the Emperor: yet he gave them such secret assurances of tolerating the Augsburgh Confession, that the Marquis of Brandenburgh declared for him, and that, joined with the hopes of the electorate, drew in Maurice of Saxe. The Count Palatine was old and feeble; the Archbishop of Colon would not make resistance, but retired, being condemned both by the Pope and the Emperor; and many of the cities submitted: and Maurice, by falling into Saxe, forced the Elector to separate from the Landgrave, and return to the defence of his own dominions. This was the state of the affairs in Germany. So that it was a hard point to resolve on, what answer the Protector should give the Duke of Saxe's Chancellor, whom he sent over to obtain an aid in money for carrying on the war. It was on the one hand of great importance to the safety of England to preserve the German Princes; and yet it was very dangerous to begin a war of such consequence under an infant King. At present they promised, within three months, to send by the merchants of the Steelyard fifty thou-

sand crowns to Hamburgh; and resolved to do no more, till new emergents should lead them to new counsels.

1547. Divisions in England.

The nation was in an ill condition for a war with such a mighty Prince, labouring under great distractions at home: the people generally cried out for a reformation; they despised the Clergy, and loved the new preachers. The priests were for the most part both very ignorant and scandalous in their lives: many of them had been monks; and those that were to pay them the pensions that were reserved to them at the destruction of the monasteries till they should be provided, took care to get them into some small benefice. The greatest part of the parsonages were impropriated; for they belonged to the monasteries, and the abbots had only granted the incumbents either the vicarage, or some small donative, and left them the perquisites raised by masses and other offices. At the suppression of those houses, there was no care taken to provide the incumbents better: so they chiefly subsisted by rentals and other devices, that brought them in some small relief, though the price of them was scandalously low; for masses went often at twopence; a groat was a great bounty. Now these saw that a reformation of those abuses took the bread out of their mouths: so their interests prevailing more with them than any thing else, they were zealously engaged against all changes. But that same principle made them comply with every change that was made, rather than lose their benefices. Their poverty made them run into another abuse, of holding more benefices at the same time; a corruption of so crying and scandalous a nature, that wherever it is practised, it is sufficient to possess the people with great prejudices against the Church that is guilty of it; there being nothing more contrary to the plainest impressions of reason, than that every man who undertakes a cure of souls, whom at his ordination he has vowed that he would instruct, feed, and govern, ought to discharge that trust himself, which is the greatest and most im-

BOOK II. 1547.

portant of all others. The Clergy were encouraged in their opposition to all changes, by the protection they expected from Gardiner, Bonner, and Tonstal, who were men of great reputation, as well as set in high places: and above all, Lady Mary did openly declare against all changes, till the King should be of age. But, on the other hand, Cranmer, whose greatest weakness was his over obsequiousness to King Henry, being now at liberty, resolved to proceed more vigorously. The Protector was firmly united to him; so were the young King's tutors; and he was as much engaged as could be expected from so young a person: for both his knowledge and zeal for true religion were above his age. Several of the Bishops did also declare for a reformation; but Dr. Ridley, now made Bishop of Rochester, was the person on whom he depended most. Latimer was kept by him at Lambeth, and did great service by his sermons, which were very popular; but he would not return to his bishopric, choosing rather to serve the Church in a more disengaged manner. Many of the Bishops were very ignorant, and poor spirited men, raised merely by court favour, who were little concerned for any thing but their revenues. Cranmer resolved to proceed by degrees, and to open the reasons of every advance that was made so fully, that he hoped, by the blessing of God, to possess the nation of the fitness of what they should do, and thereby to prevent any dangerous opposition that might otherwise be apprehended.

The power of the Privy Council had been much exalted in King Henry's time by act of Parliament; and one proviso in it was, that the King's Council should have the same authority when he was under age, that he himself had at full age: so it was resolved to begin with a general visitation of all England, which was divided into six precincts: and two gentlemen, a civilian, a divine, and a register, were appointed for every one of these: but before they were sent out, there was a letter written to all the Bishops, giving them notice of it, suspending their

A visitation of all the churches. May.

jurisdiction while it lasted, and requiring them to preach no where but in their cathedrals, and that the other Clergy should not preach but in their own churches, without licence: by which it was intended to restrain such as were not acceptable to their own parishes, and to grant the others licences to preach in any church of England. The greatest difficulty that the Reformers found was in the want of able and prudent men; the most zealous were too hot and indiscreet, and the few they had that were eminent, were to be employed in London and the Universities: therefore they intended to make those as common as was possible, and appointed them to preach as itinerants and visitors. The only thing by which the people could be universally instructed, was a book of Homilies: so the twelve first Homilies in the book still known by that name were compiled; in framing which, the chief design was to acquaint the people aright with the nature of the Gospel covenant, in which there were two extremes equally dangerous: the one was of those who thought the priests had an infallible secret of saving their souls, if they would in all things follow their directions; the other was of those who thought that if they magnified Christ much, and depended on his merits, they could not perish, which way soever they led their lives. So the mean between these was observed, and the people were taught both to depend on the sufferings of Christ, and also to lead their lives according to the rules of the Gospel, without which they could receive no benefit by his death. Order was also given, that a Bible should be in every church; which though it was commanded by King Henry, yet had not been generally obeyed: and for understanding the New Testament, Erasmus's Paraphrase was put out in English, and appointed to be set up in every church. His great reputation in learning, and his dying in the communion of the Roman Church, made this book to be preferred to any other, since there lay no prejudice to Erasmus; which would have been objected to any other author. They renewed also

BOOK II.

1547.

all the injunctions made by Cromwell in the former reign, which after his fall were but little looked after; as those for instructing the people, for removing images, and putting down all other customs abused to superstition; for reading the Scriptures, and saying the Litany in English; for frequent sermons and catechising; for the exemplary lives of the Clergy, and their labours in visiting the sick, and the other parts of their function, such as reconciling differences, and exhorting their people to charities: and all who gave livings by simoniacal bargains were declared to have forfeited their right of patronage to the King. A great charge was also given for the strict observation of the Lord's day, which was appointed to be spent wholly in the service of God; it not being enough to hear mass or mattins in the morning, and spend the rest of the day in drunkenness and quarrelling, as was commonly practised; but it ought to be all employed, either in the duties of religion, or in acts of charity; only in time of harvest they were allowed to work on that and other festival days. Direction was also given for the bidding of prayers, in which the King, as supreme Head, the Queen, and the King's sisters, the Protector and Council, and all the orders of the kingdom, were to be mentioned: they were also to pray for departed souls, that at the last day *we with them might rest both body and soul.* There were also injunctions given for the Bishops, that they should preach four times a year in their dioceses, once in their cathedral, and thrice in any other church, unless they had a good excuse to the contrary: that their chaplains should preach often: and that they should give orders to none but those that were duly qualified.

Censures on the injunctions.

These were variously censured: the Clergy were only empowered to remove the abused images, and the people were restrained from doing it; but this authority being put in their hands, it was thought they would be slow and backward in it. It had been happy for this Church, if all had agreed since

that time to press the religious observation of the Lord's day, without starting needless questions about the morality of it, and the obligation of the fourth commandment; which has occasioned much dispute and heat: and when one party raised the obligation of that duty to a pitch that was not practicable, it provoked others to slacken it too much. And this produced many sharp reflections on both sides, and has concluded in too common a neglect of that day, which, instead of being so great a bond and instrument of religion as it ought to be, is become generally a day of idleness and looseness. The corruptions of lay-patrons and simoniacal priests have been often complained of; but no laws nor provisions have ever been able to preserve the Church from this great mischief; which can never be removed till patrons look on their right to nominate one to the charge of souls, as a trust for which they are to render a severe account to God; and till priests are cured of their aspiring to that charge, and look on it with dread and great caution. The bidding of prayers had been the custom in time of popery; for the preacher, after he had named his text, and shewed what was to be the method of his sermon, desired the people to join with him in a prayer for a blessing upon it; and told them likewise, whom they were to pray for; and then all the people said their beads in silence, and he kneeling down said his; and from that, this was called the bidding of the beads. In this new direction for them, order was given to repeat always the King's title, of *Supreme Head*, that so the people hearing it often mentioned might grow better accustomed to it: but when, instead of a bidding prayer, an immediate one is come generally to be used, that enumeration of title seems not so decent a thing, nor is it now so necessary as it then was. The prayer for departed souls was now moderated to be a prayer only for the consummation of their happiness at the last day: whereas in King Henry's time they prayed that God would grant them the fruition of his presence,

BOOK II. — 1547.

which implied a purgatory. The injunctions to the Bishops, directing them to give orders with great caution, pointed out that by which only a Church can be preserved from errors and corruptions: for when Bishops do easily, upon recommendations or emendicated titles, confer orders, as a sort of favour that is at their disposal, the ill effects of that must be fatal to the Church, either by the corruptions that those vicious priests will be guilty of, or by the scandals which are given to some good minds by their means, who are thereby disgusted at the Church for their sakes, and so are disposed to be easily drawn into those societies that separate from it.

The war with Scotland.

The war with Scotland was now in consultation; but the Protector, being apprehensive that France would engage in the quarrel, sent over Sir Francis Brian to congratulate with the new King, to desire a confirmation of the last peace, and to complain of the Scots, who had broken their faith with the King in the matter of the marriage of their Queen. The French King refused to confirm the treaty, till some articles should be first explained, and so he disowned his father's ambassador; and for the Scots, he said, he could not forsake them, if they were in distress. The English alleged, that Scotland was subject to England: but the French had no regard to that, and would not so much as look on the records that were offered to prove it; and said they would take things as they found them, and not look back to a dispute of two hundred years old. This made the English Council more fearful of engaging in a war, which, by all appearance, would bring a war on them from France. The castle of St. Andrew's was surrendered, and all their pensioners in Scotland were not able to do them great service. The Scots were now much lifted up; for as England was under an infant King, so the Court of France was governed by their Queen Dowager's brothers. The Scots began to make inroads on England, and descents on Ireland. Commissioners were sent to the borders to treat on

both sides; and the Protector raised a great army, which he resolved to command in person. But the meeting on the borders was soon broke up; for the Scots had no instructions to treat concerning the marriage, and the English were ordered to treat of nothing else till that should be first agreed to. And the records that were shewed of the homage done by the Scottish Kings to the English had no great effect; for the Scots either said they were forged, or forced from some weak Princes, or were only homages for their lands in England, as the Kings of England did homage to the Crown of France for their lands there. They also shewed their records, by which their ancestors had asserted, that they were free and independent of England. The Protector left commissions of lieutenancy to some of the nobility, and devolved his own power, during his absence on the Privy Council, and came to the borders by the end of August. The Scots had abandoned the passes, so that he found no difficulty in his march; and the small forts that were in his way were surrendered upon summons. When the English advanced to Falside, the Scots engaged with them in parties, but lost thirteen hundred men. The two armies came in view: the English consisted of fifteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse, and a fleet under the command of the Lord Clinton sailed along by them, as they marched near the coasts: the Scottish army consisted of thirty thousand, and a good train of artillery.

BOOK II. 1547.

August.

The Protector sent a message to the Scots, inviting them, by all the arguments that could be invented, to consent to the marriage; and if that would not be granted, he desired engagements from them, that their Queen should be contracted to no other person, at least till she came of age, and by the advice of the Estates should choose a husband for herself. This the Protector offered, to get out of the war upon honourable terms; but the Scottish Lords thought this great condescension was an effect of fear, and believed the Protector was straitened for want of provisions; so, instead

BOOK II. 1547.

of publishing this offer, they resolved to fall upon him next day: and so all the return that was made was, that if the Protector would march back without any act of hostility, they would not fall upon him. One went officiously with the trumpeter, and challenged the Protector, in the Earl of Huntley's name, to decide the matter by their valour; but the Protector said he was to fight no way but at the head of his army: yet the Earl of Warwick accepted the challenge, but Huntley had given no order for it. On the tenth of September the armies engaged. In the beginning of the action, a shot from the ships killed a whole lane of men, and disordered the Highlanders so that they could not be made to keep their ranks. The Earl of Angus charged bravely, but was repulsed, and the English broke in with such fury on the Scots, that they threw down their arms, and fled. Fourteen thousand were killed, fifteen hundred taken prisoners, among whom was the Earl of Huntley, and five hundred gentlemen. Upon this, the Protector went on and took Leith, and some islands in the Frith, in which he put garrisons, and left ships to wait on them: he sent some ships to the mouth of Tay, and took a castle (Broughty) that commanded that river. If he had followed this blow, and gone forward to Striveling, to which the governor, with the small remainders of his army, had retired, and where the Queen was, it is probable, in the consternation in which they were, he might have taken that place, and so have made an end of the war. But the party his brother was making at court gave him such an alarm, that he returned before he had ended his business: and the Scots having sent a message desiring a treaty, which they did only to gain time, he ordered them to send their commissioners to Berwick, and so marched back. He took in all the castles in Merch and Tiviotdale, and left garrisons in them, and made the gentry swear to be true to the King, and to promote the marriage. He entered into Scotch ground the second of Septe nber, and returned to England on

The battle of Musselburgh.

the twenty-ninth, with the loss only of sixty men, and brought with him a great deal of artillery, and many prisoners. This success did raise his reputation very high; and if he had now made an end of the war, it had, no doubt established him in his authority. The Scots sent no commissioners to Berwick; but, instead of that, they sent some to France, to offer their Queen to the Dauphin, and to cast themselves on the protection of that Crown; and so the Earl of Warwick, whom the Protector left to treat with them, returned back. The Protector, upon this great success, summoned a Parliament, to get himself established in his power.

BOOK II.

1547.

The success of the visitation.

The visitors had now ended the visitation, and all had submitted to them; and great inferences were made from this, that on the same day on which the images were burnt in London, their army obtained that great victory in Scotland. But all sides are apt to build much on Providence, when it is favourable to them; and yet they will not allow the argument when it turns against them. Bonner at first protested that he would obey the injunctions, if they were not contrary to the laws of God, and the ordinances of the Church: but being called before the Council, he retracted that, and asked pardon: yet, for giving terror to others, he was for some time put in prison upon it. Gardiner wrote to one of the visitors before they came to Winchester, that he could not receive the Homilies; and if he must either quit his bishopric, or sin against his conscience, he resolved to choose the former. Upon this he was called before the Council, and required to receive the book of Homilies: but he excepted to one of them, that taught that charity did not justify, contrary to the book set out by the late King, confirmed in Parliament. He also complained of many things in Erasmus's Paraphrase: and being pressed to declare whether he would obey the injunctions or not, he refused to promise it, and so was sent to the Fleet. Cranmer treated in private with him, and they argued much about justification. Gardiner thought the Sacra-

BOOK II. 1547.

ments justified, and that charity justified as well as faith. Cranmer thought that only the merits of Christ justified, as they were applied by faith, which could not be without charity: so the question turned much on a different way of explaining the same thing. Gardiner objected many things to Erasmus's book, particularly to some passages contrary to the power of Princes. It was answered that book was not chosen, as having no faults, but as the best they knew for clearing the difficulties in Scripture. Cranmer offered to him, that if he would concur with them, he should be brought to be one of the Privy Council: but he did not comply in this so readily, as he ordinarily did to such others. Upon the Protector's return, he wrote to him, complaining of the Council's proceedings in his absence: and after he had given his objections to the injunctions, he excepted to this, that they were contrary to law; and argued from many precedents, that the King's authority could not be raised so high; and that though Cromwell, and others, endeavoured to persuade the late King, that he might govern as the Roman Emperors did, and that his will ought to be his law, yet he was of another opinion, and thought it was much better to make the law the King's will. He complained also, that he was hardly used; that he had neither servants, physicians, nor chaplains allowed to wait on him; and that though he had a writ of summons, he was not suffered to come to the Parliament; which, he said, might bring a nullity on all their proceedings. But he lay in prison till the act of general pardon passed in Parliament set him at liberty. Many blamed the severity of these proceedings, as contrary both to law and equity; and said, that all people, even those who complained most of arbitrary power, were apt to usurp it when they were in authority: and some thought the delivering the doctrine of justification in such nice terms was not suitable to the plain simplicity of the Christian religion. Lady Mary was so alarmed at these proceedings, that she wrote to the Protector,

that such changes were contrary to the honour due to her father's memory; and it was against their duty to the King to enter upon such points, and endanger the public peace before he was of age. To which he wrote answer, that her father had died before he could finish the good things he had intended concerning religion; and had expressed his regret both before himself and many others, that he left things in so unsettled a state; and assured her, that nothing should be done but what would turn to the glory of God, and the King's honour. He imputed her writing to the importunity of others, rather than to herself; and desired her to consider the matter better, with an humble spirit, and the assistance of the grace of God.

A Parliament meets.

The Parliament was opened the fourth of November; and the Protector was by patent authorized to sit under the cloth of state, on the right hand of the throne; and to have all the honours and privileges that any uncle of the crown, either by father or mother's side, ever had. Rich was made Lord Chancellor. The first act that passed (five Bishops only dissenting) was, "A repeal of all statutes "that had made any thing treason or felony in the "late reign, which was not so before, and of the "six Articles, and the authority given to the "King's proclamations, as also of the acts against "Lollards. All who denied the King's supremacy, "or asserted the Pope's, for the first offence were "to forfeit their goods, for the second were to be "in a *præmunire*, and were to be attainted of "treason for the third. But if any intended to "deprive the King of his estate, or title, that was "made treason: none were to be accused of words "but within a month after they were spoken. "They also repealed the power that the King had "of annulling all laws made till he was twenty-four "years of age, and restrained it only to an annulling "them for the time to come; but that it should not "be of force for the declaring them null from the "beginning."

An act of repeal.

Another act passed with the same dissent for the

BOOK II.

1547. An act about the Sacrament.

communion in both kinds, and that the people should always communicate with the priest, and by it irreverence to the Sacrament was condemned under severe penalties. Christ had instituted the Sacrament in both kinds, and St. Paul mentions both. In the primitive Church that custom was universally observed; but upon the belief of transubstantiation, the reserving and carrying about the Sacrament were brought in. This made them first endeavour to persuade the world, that the cup was not necessary; for wine could neither keep, nor be carried about conveniently; but it was done by degrees; the bread was for some time given dipped, as it is yet in the Greek Church: but it being believed that Christ was entirely under either kind, and in every crumb, the Council of Constance took the cup from the laity; yet the Bohemians could not be brought to submit to it; so every where the use of the cup was one of the first things that was insisted on by those who demanded a reformation. At first, all that were present did communicate, and censure passed on such as did it not: and none were denied the Sacrament but penitents, who were made to withdraw during the action. But as the devotion of the world slackened, the people were still exhorted to continue their oblations, and come to the Sacrament, though they did not receive it, and were made to believe, that the priests received it in their stead. The name Sacrifice given to it, as being a holy oblation, was so far improved, that the world came to look on the priests' officiating, as a sacrifice for the dead and living. From hence followed an infinite variety of masses for all the accidents of human life; and that was the chief part of the priests' trade: but it occasioned many unseemly jests concerning it, which were restrained by the same act that put these down.

An act concerning the nomination of Bishops.

Another act passed without any dissent, "that "the *congé d'élire*, and the election pursuant to it, "being but a shadow, (since the person was "named by the King,) should cease for the future,

"and that Bishops should be named by the King's "letters patents, and thereupon be consecrated, "and should hold their courts in the King's "name, and not in their own, excepting only "the Archbishop of Canterbury's court: and they "were to use the King's seal in all their wri-"tings, except in presentations, collations, and "letters of orders, in which they might use their "own seals." The Apostles chose Bishops and Pastors by an extraordinary gift of discerning spirits, and proposed them to the approbation of the people; yet they left no rules to make that necessary. In the times of persecution, the Clergy being maintained by the oblations of the people, they were chosen by them. But when the Emperors became Christians, the town-councils and eminent men took the elections out of the hands of the rabble: and the tumults in popular elections were such, that it was necessary to regulate them. In some places the Clergy, and in others the Bishops of the province made the choice. The Emperors reserved the confirmation of the elections in the great sees to themselves. But when Charles the Great annexed great territories and regalities to bishoprics, a great change followed thereupon: Churchmen were corrupted by this undue greatness, and came to depend on the humours of those Princes to whom they owed this great increase of their wealth. Princes named them, and invested them in their sees: but the Popes intended to separate the ecclesiastical state from all subjection to secular Princes, and to make themselves the heads of that state: at first they pretended to restore the freedom of elections; but these were now engrossed in a few hands, for only the chapters chose: the Popes had granted thirty years before this to the King of France, the nomination to all the bishoprics in that kingdom; so the King of England's assuming it was no new thing; and the way of elections, as King Henry had settled it, seemed to be but a mockery: so this change was not much condemned. The ecclesiastical courts were the

BOOK II.

1547.

BOOK II.

1547.

concessions of Princes, in which trials concerning marriages, wills, and tithes, depended; so the holding those courts in the King's name was no invasion of the spiritual function; since all that concerned orders was to be done still in the Bishop's name, only excommunication was still left as the censure of those courts; which being a spiritual censure ought to have been reserved to the Bishop, to be proceeded in by him only with the assistance of his Clergy: and this fatal error then committed has not yet met with an effectual regulation.

An act against vagabonds.

Another act was made against idle vagabonds, that they should be made slaves for two years, by any that should seize on them. This was chiefly designed against some vagrant monks, as appears by the provisos in the act; for they went about the country, infusing into the people a dislike of the government. The severity of this act made that the English nation, which naturally abhors slavery, did not care to execute it; and this made that the other provisos, for supplying those that were truly indigent, and were willing to be employed, had no effect. But as no nation had better and more merciful laws for the supply of the poor, so the fond pity that many shew to the common beggars, which no laws have been able to restrain, makes that a sort of dissolute and idle beggars intercept much of that charity which should go to the relief of those that are indeed the only proper objects of it. After this came the act for giving the King all those chantries, which the late King had not seized on by virtue of the grant made to him of them. Cranmer opposed this much: for the poverty of the Clergy was such, that the state of learning and religion was like to suffer much, if it should not be relieved: and yet he saw no probable fund for that, but the preserving these till the King should come to be at age, and allow the selling them, for buying in of at least such a share of the impropriations, as might afford some more comfortable subsistence to the Clergy: yet though he and seven other Bishops dissented, it was passed: after all other acts, a general par-

An act for dissolving the chantries.

don, but clogged with some exceptions, came last. Some acts were proposed, but not passed: one was for the free use of the Scriptures, others were for a court of chancery in ecclesiastical causes, for residence, and for a reformation of the courts of common law. The Convocation sat at the same time, and moved, that a commission, begun in the late reign, of thirty-two persons for reforming the ecclesiastical laws, might be revived, and that the inferior Clergy might be admitted to sit in the House of Commons; for which they alleged a clause in the Bishops' writ, and ancient custom. And since some Prelates had, under the former reign, begun to alter the form of the service of the Church, they desired it might be brought to perfection; and that some care might be had of supplying the poor Clergy, and relieving them from the taxes that lay on them. This concerning the inferior Clergy's sitting in the House of Commons was the subject of some debate; and was again set on foot, both under Queen Elizabeth and King James, but to no effect. Some pretended that they always sat in the House of Commons, till the submission made in the former reign, upon the suit of the *præmunire*: but that cannot be true, since in this Convocation, seventeen years after that, in which many that had been in the former were present, no such thing was alleged. It is not clear who those Proctors of the Clergy that sat in Parliament were: if they were the Bishops' assistants, it is more proper to think they sat in the House of Lords. No mention is made of them as having a share in the legislative authority in our records, except in the 21st of Richard II. In which mention is made both of the Commons, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Proctors of the Clergy, concurring to the acts then made: which makes it seem most probable that they were the clerks of the Lower House of Convocation. When the Parliament met anciently all in one body, the inferior Clergy had their writs, and came to it with the other freeholders; but when the two Houses were separated, the Clergy

BOOK II.

1547.

The Convocation sits.

BOOK II.

1547.

became also a distinct body, and gave their own subsidies, and meddled in all the concerns, and represented all the grievances of the Church. But now by the act made upon the submission of the Clergy in the last reign, their power was reduced almost to nothing: so they thought it reasonable to desire, that either they might have their representatives in the House of Commons, or at least that matters of religion should not pass without the assent of the Clergy. But the raising the ecclesiastical authority too high in former times made this turn, that it was now depressed as much below its just limits, as it was before exalted above them; as commonly one extreme produces another.

It was resolved, that some Bishops and Divines should be sent to Windsor, to finish some reformations in the public offices; for the whole Lower House of Convocation, without a contradictory vote, agreed to the bill about the Sacrament. But it is not known what opposition it met with in the Upper House. A proposition being also set on foot concerning the lawfulness of the marriage of the Clergy, thirty-five subscribed to the affirmative, and only fourteen held the negative.

And thus ended this session, both of Parliament and Convocation. And the Protector being now established in his power, and received by a Parliament, without contradiction, took out a new commission; in which, besides his former authority, he was empowered to substitute one in his room during his absence.

The affairs of Germany.

In Germany the Princes of the Smalcaldick league were quite ruined; the Duke of Saxe was defeated, and taken prisoner, and used with great severity and scorn, which he bare with an invincible greatness of mind. The Landgrave was persuaded to submit, and had assurances of liberty given him; but by a trick unbecoming the greatness of the Emperor, he was seized on and kept prisoner, contrary to faith given: upon this, all the princes and towns, except Magdeburg and Breme, submitted and purchased their pardon, at what

terms the conqueror was pleased to impose. The Bishop and Elector of Cologne withdrew peaceably to a retirement, in which, after four years, he died: and now all Germany was at the Emperor's mercy. Some cathedrals, as that at Augsburg, were again restored to the Bishops, and mass was said in them. A diet was also held, in which the Emperor obtàined a decree to pass, by which matters of religion were referred wholly to his care. The Pope, instead of rejoicing at this blow given the Lutherans, was much troubled at it: for the Emperor had now in one year made an end of a war, which he hoped would have embroiled him his whole life; so that Italy was now more at his mercy than ever: and it seemed the Emperor intended to inlarge his conquests there; for the Pope's natural son being killed by a conspiracy, the governor of Milan seized on Placentia, which gave the Pope some jealousy, as if the Emperor had been privy to the design against his son. The Emperor's ambassadors were also very uneasy to the legates at Trent, and pressed a reformation of abuses, and endeavoured to restrain them from proceeding in points of doctrine: so they took hold of the first pretence they had by the death of one that seemed to have some symptoms of the plague, and removed it to Bologna. By this all the advantages the Emperor had from the promises which the Protestants made, to submit to a free General Council assembled in Germany, were defeated: and it was thought a strange turn of divine Providence, that when the extirpation of Lutheranism was so near being effected, a stop was put to it by that, which of all things was least to be apprehended: since it might have been expected, that the perfecting such a design would have made the Pope and the Emperor friends, though there had been ever so many other grounds of difference between them. So unusual a thing made the favourers of the Reformation ascribe it to the immediate care that Heaven had of that work, now when all the human supports of it were gone. Upon this fatal

BOOK. II.

1547

BOOK II.

1547.

revolution of affairs there, many Germans and Italians, that had retired to Germany, came over to England: Peter Martyr and Bernardinus Ochinus came over first; Bucer and Fagius followed. They were invited over by Cranmer, who entertained them at Lambeth, till they were provided. P. Martyr was sent to Oxford, and Bucer and Fagius to Cambridge; but the latter died soon after. There were some differences between the French and English concerning some new forts, which were made about Boulogne on both sides: yet a truce was agreed on; for the Protector had no mind to engage in a war with France.

Differences between the Protector and the Admiral.

He had a new trouble raised up in his own family by the ambition of his brother, who thought that being the King's uncle, as well as his brother was, he ought to have a larger share of the government. He had made addresses to the Lady Elizabeth, the King's sister; but finding no hopes of success, he made applications to the Queen Dowager, who married him a little indecently; for it was afterwards objected to him, that he married her so soon after the King's death, that if she had conceived with child immediately after the marriage, it might have been doubtful whether it was by the late King or not: yet the marriage was for some time concealed, and the Admiral moved the King and his sisters to write to the Queen, to accept him for her husband. The King's sisters excused themselves, that it was not decent for them to interpose in such a matter; but the young King was more easy: so upon his letter the Queen published her marriage. The Admiral being now possessed of much wealth, and the King coming often to the Queen's lodgings, he endeavoured to gain him, and all that were about him, and furnished the King often with money. His design was, that whereas in former times, when infant Kings had two uncles, one was governor of his person, and another was protector of the realm; so now these two trusts might be divided, and that he might be made governor of the King's person. This is the true account of the

breach between those brothers; for the story of the quarrel between their wives about precedence seems to be an ill-grounded fiction: for there was no pretence of a competition between the Queen Dowager and the Duchess of Somerset; but the latter being a high woman, might have perhaps inflamed her husband's resentments, over whom she had an absolute power, which gave the rise to that story. The Protector was at first very easy to be reconciled to his brother; but after the many provocations he received from him, he threw off nature too much. When he was in Scotland, the Admiral began to take advantage upon that to make a party: and the good advices that were given him by Paget, to look on those as the common enemies of their family who were making this breach between them, had no effect to cure a mind hurried on by ambition. It was the advertisement that was sent him of this, that made the Protector leave Scotland before he had finished his business there. During this session of Parliament, the Admiral prevailed with the King to write with his own hand a message to the House of Commons, to make him the governor of his person. When the Admiral was making friends in order to this, it came to his brother's ears, before he had made any public use of it: so he employed some to divert him from it, but with no success. Upon that, he was sent for to appear before the Council, but he refused to come; yet they having threatened to turn him out of all his places, and to send him to the Tower, he submitted, and the brothers were reconciled: but the Admiral continued his secret practices still with those about the King.

BOOK II.

1547.

1548.

Gardiner being included in the act of pardon was set at liberty: he promised to receive and obey the injunctions, only he excepted to the Homily of Justification; yet he complied in that likewise: but it was visible that in his heart he abhorred all their proceedings, though he outwardly conformed. The second marriage of the Marquis of Northampton was tried at this time; for his first wife being

BOOK II.

1548. The Marquis of Northampton's divorce.

convict of adultery, he and she were separated: and he moved in the end of the former reign, that he might be suffered to marry again; so a commission was then granted, and was renewed in this reign, to some delegates, to examine what relief might be given to the innocent person in such a case. But this being new, and Cranmer proceeding in it with his usual exactness, which is often accompanied with slowness, the Marquis became impatient, and married a second wife. Upon this the Council ordered them to be parted, till the delegates should give sentence. The arguments for the second marriage were these; Christ had condemned divorces for other cases, but excepted that of adultery. A separation from bed and board, and the marriage-bond standing, was contrary to many places of Scripture, that mention the end of marriage. St. Paul discharges the married person, if the other wilfully deserted him; much more will it follow in the case of adultery. And though St. Paul says, the wife is tied to her husband as long as he liveth, this is only to be understood of a husband that continued to be one; but that relation ceased by adultery. The Fathers differed in their opinions in this matter; some allowed marriage upon divorce to the husband, but denied it to the wife; others allowed it to both. So Tertullian, Epiphanius, and Basil; Jerome also justified Fabiola, that had done it. Chrysostom and Chromatius allowed a second marriage. St. Austin was doubtful about it. The Roman Emperors allowed, by their laws, even after they became Christians, divorce, and a second marriage, both to husbands and wives, upon many other reasons besides adultery; as for procuring abortions, treating for another marriage, being guilty of treason, or a wife's going to plays without her husband's leave. Nor did the Fathers in those times complain of those laws. This was also allowed by the Canons upon several occasions; but after the state of celibate came to be magnified out of measure, second marriages were more generally

condemned: and this was heightened, when marriage was looked on as a sacrament. Yet though no divorces were allowed in the Church, the Canonists found out many shifts for annulling marriages from the beginning, to those that could pay well for them. All these things being considered, the delegates gave sentence, confirming the second marriage, and dissolving the first.

Some ceremonies abrogated.

Candlemas and Lent were now approaching; so the Clergy and people were much divided with relation to the ceremonies usual at those times. By some injunctions in King Henry's reign it had been declared, that fasting in Lent was only binding by a positive law. Wakes and plough-moon days were also suppressed, and hints were given that other customs, which were much abused, should be shortly put down. The gross rabble loved these things, as matters of diversion, and thought divine worship without them would be but a dull business. But others looked on these as relics of heathenism, since the Gentiles worshipped their gods with such fetivities, and thought they did not become the gravity and simplicity of the Christian religion. Cranmer upon this procured an order of Council against the carrying of candles on Candlemas-day, of ashes on Ash-Wednesday, and palms on Palm-Sunday; which was directed to Bonner to be intimated to the Bishops of the province of Canterbury, and was executed by him. But a proclamation followed against all that should make changes without authority. The creeping to the cross, and taking holy bread and water, were by it put down, and power was given to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to certify in the King's name what ceremonies should be afterwards laid aside; and none were to preach out of their own parishes without licence from the King, or the visitors, the Archbishop, or the Bishop of the diocese. Some questioned the Council's power to make such orders, the act that gave authority to their proclamations being repealed: but it was said, the King's supremacy in ecclesiastical matters might well

BOOK II.

1548. Feb. 8.

justify their making such rules. Soon after this, a general order followed for a removal of all images out of churches: there were every where great contests whether the images had been abused to superstition or not. Some thought the consecration of them was an abuse common to them all. Those also that represented the Trinity, as a man with three faces in one head, or as an old man with a young man before him, and a dove over his head; and somewhere the blessed Virgin was represented as assumed into it; gave so great scandal, that it was no wonder, if men, as they grew to be better enlightened, could no longer endure them. The only occasion given to censure in this order was, that all shrines, and the plate belonging to them, were appointed to be brought in to the King's use. A letter was at that time writ to all preachers, requiring them to exhort the people to amend their lives, and forsake superstition; but for things not yet changed, to bear with them, and not to run before those whom they should obey. Some hot men condemned this temper, as savouring too much of carnal policy: but it was said, that though the Apostles, by the gift of miracles, had sufficient means to convince the world of their authority, yet they did not all at once change the customs of the Mosaical law, but proceeded by degrees; and Christ forbid the pulling up the tares, lest good wheat should be pulled up with them: so it was fit to wean people by degrees from their former superstition, and not to run too fast.

A new Office for Communion.

Eighteen Bishops and some Divines were now employed to examine the Offices of the Church, to see which of them needed amendment. They began with the Eucharist. They proceeded in the same manner that was used in the former reign; for every one gave his opinion in writing, in answer to the questions that were put to them. Some of these are still preserved; which were concerning the priests sole communicating, and masses satisfactory for the dead; the mass in an unknown tongue, the hanging it up and exposing it, and the

sacrifice that was made in it. In most of those papers, it appears that the greatest part of the Bishops were still leavened with the old superstition, at least to some degree. It was clearly found that the plain institution of the Sacrament was much vitiated with a mixture of many heathenish rites and pomps, on design to raise the credit of the priests, in whose hands that great performance was lodged. This was at first done to draw over the heathens by those splendid rites to Christianity; but superstition once begun has no bounds nor measures; and ignorance and barbarity increasing in the darker ages, there was no regard had to any thing in religion, but as it was set off with much pageantry; and the belief of the corporal presence raised this to a great height. The Office was in an unknown tongue; all the vessels and garments belonging to it were consecrated with much devotion; a great part of the service was secret, to make it look like a wonderful charm; the consecration itself was to be said very softly; for words that were not to be heard agreed best with a change that was not to be seen: the many gesticulations, and the magnificent processions, all tended to raise this pageantry higher. Masses were also said for all the turns and affairs of human life. Trentals, a custom of having thirty masses a year on the chief festivities for redeeming souls out of purgatory, was that which brought the priests most money; for these were thought God's best days, in which access was easier to him. On saints' days, in the mass it was prayed, that by the saints' intercession the sacrifice might become the more acceptable, and procure a larger indulgence; which could not be easily explained, if the sacrifice was the death of Christ; besides a numberless variety of other rites: for many of the relics of heathenism were made use of for the corrupting of the holiest institution of the Christian religion. The first step that was now made was a new Office for the Communion, that is, the distribution of the Sacrament; for the Office of consecration was not at this time

BOOK II. 1548.

touched. It differs very little from what is still used. In the exhortation, auricular confession to a priest is left free to be done, or omitted, and all were required not to judge one another in that matter. There was also a denunciation made, requiring impenitent sinners to withdraw. The bread was to be still of the same form that had been formerly used. In the distribution it was said, *The body of our Lord, &c. preserve thy body:* and *The blood of our Lord, &c. preserve thy soul.* This was printed with a proclamation, requiring all to receive it with such reverence and uniformity, as might encourage the King to proceed further, and not to run to other things before the King gave directions, assuring the people of his earnest zeal to set forth godly orders; and therefore it was hoped they would tarry for it: the books were sent over England, and the Clergy were appointed to give the Communion next Easter according to them.

Auricular confession examined.

Many were much offended to find confession left indifferent; so this matter was examined. Christ gave his Apostles a power of binding and loosing, and St. James commanded all to confess their faults to one another. In the primitive Church all that denied the faith, or otherwise gave scandal, were separated from the Communion, and not admitted to it till they made public confession: and, according to the degrees of their sins, the times and degrees of public penitence, and their separation, were proportioned; which was the chief subject of the consultations of the Councils in the fourth and fifth centuries. For secret sins, the people lay under no obligation to confess, but they went often to the priests for direction even for these. Near the end of the fifth century they began to have secret penances and confessions, as well as public: but in the seventh century this became the general practice. In the eighth century the commutation of penance for money, or other services done the Church, was brought in. Then the holy wars and pilgrimages came to be magnified: croisadoes against heretics, or princes deposed by the Pope,

were set up instead of all other penances. Priests also managed confession and absolution, so as to enter into all men's secrets, and to govern their consciences by them; but they becoming very ignorant, and not so associated as to be governed by orders that might be sent them from Rome, the friars were every where employed to hear confessions: and many reserved cases were made, in which the Pope only gave absolution: these were trusted to them, and they had the trade of indulgences put in their hands; which they managed with as much confidence as mountebanks used in selling their medicines; with this advantage, that the ineffectualness of their devices was not so easily discovered, for the people believed all that the priests told them. In this they grew to such a pitch of confidence, that, for saying some collects, indulgences for years, and for hundreds, thousands, yea, a million of years, were granted; so cheap a thing was heaven made. This trade was now thrown out of the Church, and private confession was declared indifferent: but it was much censured, that no rules for public penance were set up at this time, but what were corrupted by the Canonists. The people did not think a declarative absolution sufficient, and thought it surer work, when a priest said, *I absolve thee*, though that was but a late invention. Others censured the words of distribution, by which the bread was appropriated to the body, and the cup to the soul. And this was soon after amended; only some words relating to it are still in the collect, *We do not presume.*

The affairs of state took up the Council as much as the matters of religion employed the Bishops: the war with Scotland grew chargeable, and was supported from France; but the sale of the chantry lands brought the Council in some money. Gardiner was brought into new trouble: many complaints were made of him, that he disparaged the preachers sent with the King's licence into his diocese, and that he secretly opposed all reformation. So being brought before the Council, he denied most of the

Gardiner is imprisoned.

BOOK II.

1548.

things objected to him, and offered to explain himself openly in a sermon before the King. The Protector pressed him not to meddle in matters not yet determined, particularly the presence of Christ in the Sacrament, and to assert the King's power, though he was under age, and the authority of the Council. For the Clergy began generally to say, that though they acknowledged the King's supremacy, yet they would not yield it to the Council; and seemed to place it in some extraordinary grace conferred on the King, by the anointing in the coronation. So the Protector desired Gardiner to declare himself in those points: but when he came to preach on St. Peter's day, he inveighed against the Pope's supremacy, and asserted the King's; but said nothing of the Council, nor the King's power under age: he also justified the suppression of monasteries and chantries, and the putting down masses satisfactory, as also the removing of images, the Sacrament in both kinds, and the new order for the Communion; but did largely assert the corporal presence in the Sacrament: upon which, there was a noise raised by hot men of both sides during the sermon; and this was said to be a stirring of sedition, and upon that he was sent to the Tower. This way of proceeding was thought contrary both to law and justice; and, as all violent courses do, this rather weakened than strengthened those that were most concerned in it. Cranmer did at this time set out a large catechism, which he dedicated to the King. He insisted much on shewing that idolatry had been committed in the use of images: he asserted the divine institution of Bishops and Priests, and their authority of absolving sinners; and expressed great zeal for the setting up penitentiary canons, and exhorted the people to discover the state of their souls to their pastors. From this it appears, that he had changed the opinions he formerly held against the divine institution of ecclesiastical offices.

A new Liturgy composed.

But now a more general reformation of the whole Liturgy was under consideration, that all the nation

BOOK II.

1548.

might have an uniformity in the worship of God, and be no more cantoned to the several uses of Sarum, York, Lincoln, Hereford, and Bangor. Anciently the Liturgies were short, and had few ceremonies in them: every Bishop had one for his own diocese. But in the African churches they began first to put them into a more regular form. Gregory the Great laboured much in this; yet he left Austin the monk to his liberty, either to use the Roman or French forms in England, as he found they were like to tend most to edification. Great additions were made in every age; for the private devotions of some that were reputed saints were added to the public Offices: and mysterious significations were invented for every new rite; which was the chief study of some ages: and all was swelled up to a vast bulk. It was not then thought on, that praying by the Spirit consisted in the inventing new words, and uttering them with warmth; and it seemed too great a subjection of the people to their priests, that they should make them join with them in all their heats in prayer; and would have proved as great a resignation of their devotion to them, as the former superstition had made of their faith. It was then resolved to have a Liturgy, and to bring the worship to fit mean between the pomp of superstition and naked flatness: they resolved to change nothing, merely in opposition to received practices; but rather, in imitation of what Christ did, in the institution of the two sacraments of the Gospel, that did consist of rites used among the Jews, but blessed by him to higher purposes, to comply with what had been formerly in use, as much as was possible, thereby to gain the people. All the consecrations of water, salt, &c. in the Church of Rome, looked like the remainders of heathenism, and were laid aside. By these, devils being adjured, and a divine virtue supposed to be in them, the people came to think, that by such observances they might be sure of heaven. The absolutions, by which, upon the account of the merits of the blessed Virgin and the saints, the

BOOK II.

1548.

sprinkling of water, fastings, and pilgrimages, with many other things, sins were pardoned, as well as on the account of the passion of Christ, and the absolution given to dead bodies, looked like gross impostures, tending to make the world think, that, besides the painful way to heaven, in a course of true holiness, the priests had secrets in their hands, of carrying people thither in another method, and on easier terms; and this drew in the people to purchase their favour, especially when they were dying: so that, as their fears were then heightened, there was no other way left them, in the conclusion of an ill life, to die with any good hopes, but as they bargained for them with their priests; therefore all this was now cast out. It was resolved to have the whole worship in the vulgar tongue; upon which St. Paul has copiously enlarged himself: and all nations, as they were converted to Christianity, had their offices in the vulgar tongue: but of late it had been pretended, that it was a part of the communion of saints, that the worship should be every where in the same language; though the people were hardly used, when, for the sake of some vagrant priests, that might come from foreign parts, they were kept from knowing what was said in the worship of God. It was pretended, that Pilate having ordered the inscription on the cross in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, these three languages were sanctified; but it is not easy to understand what authority he had for conferring such a privilege on them. But the keeping all in an unknown tongue, preserved in dark ages the esteem of their offices: in which there were such prayers and hymns, and such lessons, that if the people had understood them, they must have given great scandal: in many prayers the pardon of sins and the grace of God were asked, in such a style, of the saints, as if these had been wholly at their disposal, and if they had been more merciful than God, or Christ. In former times, all that did officiate were peculiarly habited, and all their garments were blessed; and these were considered as a part of the

train of the mass; but on the other hand, white had been the colour of the priests' vestments under the Mosaical law, and was early brought into the Christian churches: it was a proper expression of innocence, and it was fit that the worship of God should be in a decent habit. So it was continued; and since the sacrifices offered to idols were not thereby, according to St. Paul, of their own nature polluted, and every creature of God was good; it was thought, notwithstanding the former abuse, most reasonable to use these garments still.

BOOK II.

1548.

The new Offices.

The morning and evening prayers were put almost in the same method in which we use them still, only there was no confession, or absolution. In the Office for the Communion there was a commemoration of thanksgiving for the blessed Virgin, and all departed saints, and they were commended to God's mercy and peace. In the consecration, the use of crossing the elements was retained; but there was no elevation; which was at first used as an historical rite, to shew Christ's being lifted up on the cross; but was afterwards done, to call on the people to adore it. No stamp was to be on the bread, and it was to be thicker than ordinary. It was to be put in the people's mouths by the priests, though it had been anciently put in their hands. Some in the Greek Church began to take it in spoons of gold, others in a linen cloth, called their Dominical: but after the corporal presence was received, the people were not suffered to touch it, and the priests' thumbs and fingers were peculiarly anointed, to qualify them for that contact. In baptism, the child's head and breast was crossed, and an adjuration was made of the Devil, to depart from him: children were to be thrice dipped, or, in case of weakness, water was to be sprinkled on their faces, and then they were to be anointed. The sick might also be anointed if they desired it. At funerals, the departed soul was recommended to God's mercy.

Private communion.

The Sacraments were formerly believed of such virtue, that they conferred grace by the very re-

BOOK II.

1548.

ceiving them, *ex opere operato:* and so women baptized. The ancients did send portions of the eucharist to the sick, but without any pomp: which came in when the corporal presence was believed. But instead of that, it was now appointed, that the Sacrament should be ministered to the sick, and therefore, in case of weakness, children might be baptized in houses; though it was more suitable to the design of baptism, which was the admission of a new member to the Church, to do it before the whole congregation. But this, which was a provision for weakness, is become since a mark of vanity, and a piece of affected state. It was also appointed, that the Sacrament should be given to the sick, and not to be sent from the Church, but consecrated by their bed-sides; since Christ had said, that where two or three were assembled in his name, he would be in the midst of them. But it is too gross a relic of the worst part of popery, if any imagine, that, after an ill life, some sudden sorrow for sin, with a hasty absolution, and the Sacrament, will be a passport to heaven; since the mercies of God in Christ are offered in the Gospel only to those who truly believe, sincerely repent, and do change the course of their lives.

The Liturgy thus compiled was published, with a preface concerning ceremonies, the same that is still in the Common Prayer Book, written with extraordinary judgment and temper.

Censures passed on the Common Prayer Book.

When the book came into all men's hands, several things were censured; as particularly the frequent use of the cross and anointing. The former began to be used as a badge of a crucified Saviour: but the superstition of it was so much advanced, that *Latria* was given to the crosier. The using it was also believed to have a virtue for driving away evil spirits, and preserving one from dangers: so that a sacramental virtue was affixed to it; which could not be done, since there is no institution for it in Scripture: but the using it as a ceremony, expressing the believing in a crucified Saviour, could import no superstition; since ceremonies, that only

BOOK II.

1548.

express our duty, or profession, may be used as well as words; these being signs, as the others are sounds, that express our thoughts. The use of oil in confirmation, and receiving penitents, was early brought into the Church: but it was not applied to the sick till the tenth century; for the ancients did not understand those words of St. James to relate to it, but to the extraordinary gift of healing, then in the Church.

All preaching was for some time restrained.

While these changes were under consideration, there were great heats every where, and great contradiction among the pulpits; some commending all the old customs, and others inveighing as much against them: so the power of granting licences to preach was taken from the Bishops, and restrained only to the King and the Archbishops; yet even that did not prove an effectual restraint. So a proclamation was set out, restraining all preaching, till the order, which was then in the hands of the Bishops, should be finished; and, instead of hearing sermons, all were required to apply themselves to prayer, for a blesing on that which was then a preparing, and to content themselves in the mean while with the Homilies.

Affairs in Scotland.

The war of Scotland continued: the Scots received a great supply from France of six thousand men, under the command of Dessy. The English had fortified Hadington, which was well situated, and lay in a fruitful country: so the Governor of Scotland, joining an army of Scots to the French, sat down before it. The Protector saw the inconveniences of a long war coming on him both with Scotland and France; so he offered a truce for ten years, in which time he hoped, by presents and practices, to gain, or at least to divide those who were united by the war. Many of the Scotch nobility liked the proposition well: and indeed the insolence of the French was such, that, instead of being auxiliaries, they considered them as enemies. But the Clergy were so apprehensive of a match with England, that they never concluded themselves secure till it were put out of their power, and

BOOK II.

1548.

so did vehemently promote the proposition made by the French, of sending their Queen over to France: and this was in conclusion agreed too. So the French ships that brought over the auxiliaries carried back the young Qeen. The siege of Hadington went on: a great recruit sent to them from Berwick was intercepted, and cut off: but they were well supplied with ammunition and provisions. Some castles that the English had were taken by surprise, and others by treachery: a fleet was sent to spoil the coast of Scotland, under the Admiral's command; but he made only two descents, in both which he had such ill success, that he lost near twelve hundred men in them. The Earl of Shrewsbury led in a good army to the relief of Hadington: the siege was opened, and the place well supplied. But as Dessy marched back to Edinburgh, his soldiers committed great outrages upon the Scots; so that if Shrewsbury had designed to fight, he had great advantages, since the Scots were now very weary of their imperious friends, the French: but he marched back, having performed that for which he was sent. Dessy followed him, and made a great inroad into England, but would not give the Scots any share of the spoil, and treated them in all things as a conquered province: and being in fear of them, he fortified himself in Leith, which before was but an inconsiderable village. He also attacked the fort which the English had in Inchkeith, and took it. But he was recalled upon the complaints that were sent to the Court of France against him. Now the people there began to feel their slavery, and to hate those that had persuaded the sending their Queen to France, and particularly the Clergy, and were thereby the more disposed to hearken to such preachers as discovered their corruptions and superstition. Monluc, Bishop of Valence, a man celebrated for wisdom, and for so much moderation in matters of religion, that it drew upon him the suspicion of heresy, was sent over from France to be Chancellor of Scotland. This was like to give great discontent to the Scottish nobility: so he

returned to France. The English were now involved in a war, in which they could promise themselves no good issue, unless they could conquer the kingdom: for the end they had proposed by a match was now put out of the power even of the Scots themselves.

Affairs in Germany.

In Germany, the Emperor, after he had used all possible endeavours to bring the Council back to Trent, but without success, protested against those at Bologna; and ordered three Divines (one of them was esteemed a Protestant) to draw a book for reconciling matters of religion, which should take place in that interval, till a Council should meet in Germany, called from that the *Interim.* The chief concessions in favour of the Protestants were the communion in both kinds, and that married priests might officiate. A Diet was summoned, where Maurice was invested in the electorate of Saxe, the degraded Elector being made to look on, and see the ceremony; which he did with his ordinary constancy of mind: and without expressing any concern about it, he returned to his studies, which were chiefly employed in the Scriptures. The book was proposed to the Diet, and the Bishop of Mentz, wi:hout any order, thanked the Emperor for it, in their name; and this was published as the consent of the Diet. So slight a thing will pass for a consent of the States, by a conqueror that looks on himself as above law. Both Papists and Protestants were offended at it. It was condemned at Rome, where no heresy was more odious, than that the secular powers should meddle in points of faith. The Protestants generally refused it; and the imprisoned Elector could not be wrought on to receive it, neither by the offers that were made him, nor the severities he was put to, in all which he was always the same. Some contests arose between Melancthon and the other Lutherans: for he thought the ceremonies, being things indifferent, might be received; but the others thought these would make way for all the other errors of popery. The Protestant religion was now almost

BOOK II.

1548.

ruined in Germany, and this made the Divines turn their eyes to England. Calvin wrote to the Protector, and pressed him to go on to a more complete reformation, and that prayers for the dead, the crism, and extreme unction, might be laid aside. He desired him to trust in God, and go on, and wished there were more preaching, and in a more lively way, than he heard was then in England; but above all things he prayed him to suppress that impiety and profanity that, as he heard, abounded in the nation.

1549. A session of Parliament.

In the end of this year a session of Parliament met, but no bill was finished before February: the first was concerning the married Clergy, which was finished by the Commons in six days, but lay six weeks before the Lords: nine Bishops and four temporal Lords protested against it. It was declared, that it were better for priests to live unmarried, free of all worldly cares; yet since the laws compelling it had occasioned great filthiness, they were all repealed. The pretence of chastity in the Romish priests had possessed the world with a high opinion of them, and had been a great reflection on the Reformers, if the world had not clearly seen through it, and been made very sensible of the ill effects of it, by the defilement it brought into their own beds and families. Nor was there any point in which the Reformers had enquired more, to remove this prejudice that lay against them. In the Old Testament, all the priests were not only married, but the office descended by inheritance. In the New Testament, marriage was declared *honourable in all:* among the qualifications of Bishops and Deacons, their being the *husbands of one wife* are reckoned up. Many of the Apostles were married, and carried their wives about with them, as also Aquila did Priscilla. Forbidding to marry is reckoned a mark of the apostasy that was to follow. Some of the first heretics inveighed against marriage; but the orthodox justified it, and condemned those churchmen that put away their wives: which was confirmed by a General Council

An act for the marriage of the Clergy.

In Trullo.

in the fifth century: Paphnutius, in the Council of Nice, opposed a motion that was made for it: Hilary of Poictiers was married; Basil and Nazianzen's fathers were Bishops. Heliodorus, the first that wrote a romance, moved that Bishops might live singly: but till then every one did in that as he pleased; and even those who were twice married, if the first was before their conversion, might be Bishops; which Jerome himself, though very partial to the celibate, justifies. All the Canons made against the married Clergy were only positive laws, which might be repealed. The priests in the Greek Church did still live with their wives at that time. In the West the Clergy did generally marry, and in Edgar's time they were for the most part married in England. In the ninth century, P. Nicholas pressed the celibate much, but was opposed by many. In the eleventh century, Gregory the Seventh intending to set up a new ecclesiastical empire, found that the unmarried Clergy would be the surest to him, since the married gave pledges to the state, and therefore he proceeded furiously in it; and called all the married priests, Nicolaitans: yet in England, Lanfranc did only impose the celibate on the prebendaries, and the Clergy that lived in towns. Anselm imposed it on all without exception: but both he, Bernard, and Petrus Damiani, complain, that sodomy abounded much, even among the Bishops: and not only Panormitan, but Pius the Second wished, that the laws for the celibate were taken away. So it was clear, that it was not founded on the laws of God; and it was a sin to force churchmen to vow that which sometimes was not in their power: and it was found, by examining the forms of ordination, that the priests in England had made no such vows; and even the vow in the Roman Pontifical to live chastely did not import a tie not to marry, since a man might live chaste in a married state. Many lewd stories were published of the Clergy, but none seemed more remarkable than that of the Pope's Legate in Henry the Second's time, who, the very same night

BOOK II.

1549.

after he had put all the married Clergy from their benefices, was found abed with a whore. It was also observed, that the unmarried Bishops, if they had not bastards to raise, were as much set on advancing their nephews and kindred, as those that were married could be. Nor did any persons meddle more in secular affairs than the unmarried Clergy: and it might be reasonable to restrain the Clergy, as was done in the primitive Church, from converting the goods of the Church, which were entrusted to their care, to the enriching of their families. None appeared more zealous for procuring this liberty, than several Clergymen that never made use of it; in particular, Ridley and Redmayn.

An act confirming the Liturgy.

Another act passed, confirming the Liturgy, which was now finished; eight Bishops and three temporal Lords only protesting against it. There was a long preamble, setting forth the inconvenience of the former offices, and the pains that had been taken to reform them; and that divers Bishops and Divines had, by the aid of the Holy Ghost, with an uniform agreement, concluded on the new book. Therefore they enacted, that by Whitsunday next all divine offices should be performed according to it; and if any used other offices, for the first offence they should be imprisoned six months; lose their benefices for a second; and be imprisoned during life for the third offence. Some censured those words, that the book was composed by the *aid of the Holy Ghost;* but this did not import an inspiration, but a divine assistance. Many wondered to see the Bishops of Norwich, Hereford, Chichester, and Westminster, protest against the act, since they had concurred in composing the book. It does not appear whether they were dissatisfied at any thing in it, or whether they opposed the imposing it on such severe penalties; or if they were displeased at a proviso that was added for the using of Psalms taken out of the Bible, which was intended for the Singing Psalms, then put in verse, and much used both in churches and houses, by all that loved the Reformation. In the primitive times

the Christians used the Psalter much, and the chief devotion of the monastic orders consisted in repeating it often. Apollinarius put it in verse, and both Nazianzen and Prudentius wrote many devout hymns in verse; others, though in prose, were much used, as the *Gloria in excelsis*, and the *Te Deum:* afterwards the greatest part of the offices was put in Latin rhimes, and so now some English poets turned the Psalter into verse, which was then much esteemed; but both our language and poetry being since that time much improved, this work has now lost its beauty so much, that there is great need of a new version.

An act for fasting.

Another act passed about fasting, declaring, "that "though all days and meats were in themselves "alike, yet fasting being a great help to virtue, "and to the subduing the body to the mind, and "a distinction of meats conducing to the advance- "ment of the fishing-trade, it was enacted, that "Lent, and all Fridays and Saturdays, and Ember- "days, should be fish days, under severe penalties; "excepting the weak, or those that had the King's "licence." Christ had told his Disciples, that when he was taken from them they should fast: so in the primitive Church they fasted before Easter; but the same number of days was not observed in all places: afterwards other rules and days were set up: but St. Austin complained, that many in his time placed all their religion in observing them. Fast-days were turned to a mockery in the Church of Rome, in which they both dined, and did eat fish dressed exquisitely, and drank wine. This made many run to another extreme against all fasts, or distinction of days, which certainly, if rightly managed, and without supersitition, is a great means for keeping up a seriousness of mind, which is necessary for maintaining the power of religion. Other bills were proposed, but not passed; one for making it treason to marry the King's sisters, without the consent of the King and Council: but the forfeiture of succession in that case was thought sufficient. The Bishops did also complain of their

BOOK II.

- 1549.

want of power to repress vice, which so much abounded: but the laity were so apprehensive of coming again under an ecclesiastical tyranny, that they would not consent to it. A proposition was also made for bringing the common law into a body, in imitation of Justinian's Digests: but it fell, being too great a design to be finished under an infant King.

The Admiral's attainder.

In this Parliament the Admiral was attainted. The Queen Dowager died in September last, not without suspicion of poison: upon that, he renewed his addresses to Lady Elizabeth: but finding it in vain to expect that his brother and the Council would consent to it, and that her right to the succession would be cut off if he married her without their consent, he resolved to make sure of the King's person, till he made a change in the government: he fortified his house, he laid up a magazine, and made a party among the nobility. The Protector employed many to divert him from those desperate designs; but his ambition being incurable, he was forced to proceed to extremities against him. He sent him prisoner to the Tower in January, with his confederate Sharington, who being vice-treasurer of the mint at Bristol, had supplied him with money, and had coined much base money for his use. Many were sent to persuade him to a better mind; and his brother was willing to be again reconciled to him, if he would retire from the court and business; but he was intractable. So, many articles were objected to him, both of his designs against the state, and of his malversation in his office, several pirates having been entertained by him. Many witnesses, and letters under his own hand, were brought against him. Almost the whole Council went to the Tower and examined him; but he refused to make any answers, and said he expected an open trial. The whole council upon this acquainted the King with it, and desired him to refer the matter to the Parliament, which he granted. Upon that, some counsellors were again sent to see what they could draw from him; but he was sullen,

and after he had answered to three of the articles, denying some particulars, and excusing others, he refused to go any further. The business was next brought into the House of Lords: the Judges and the King's Council delivered their opinions, that the articles objected to him were treason. Then the evidence was given, upon which the whole House passed the bill, the Protector only withdrawing: they dispatched it in two days. In the House of Commons many argued against attainders without a trial, or bringing the party to make his answers. But a message was sent from the King, desiring them to proceed as the Lords had begun. So the Lords, that had given evidence against him in their own house, were sent down to the Commons: upon which they passed the bill; and the royal assent was given the fifth of March: and afterwards the King, being pressed to it by the Council, gave order for the execution; which was done the twentieth of March. This was the only cure that his ambition seemed capable of: yet it was thought against nature, that one brother should fall by the hand of another: and the attainting a man without hearing him was condemned, as contrary to natural justice; so the Protector suffered almost as much by his death, as he could have done by his life.

BOOK II.

1549.

A new visitation.

The Laity and Clergy both gave the King subsidies, and so the Parliament was prorogued. The first thing taken into care was the receiving the act of uniformity: some complaints were made of the priests' way of officiating, that they did it with such a tone of voice, that the people did not understand what was said, no more than when the prayers were said in Latin; so this temper was found: prayers were ordered to be said in parish-churches in a plain voice; but in cathedrals the old way was still kept up, as agreeing better with the music used in them: though this seemed not very decent in the confession of sins, nor in the Litany, where a simple voice, gravely uttered, agreed better with those devotions than those cadences and musical notes do.

BOOK II.

1549

Others continued to use all the gesticulations, crossings, and kneelings, that they had formerly been accustomed to: the people did also continue the use of their beads; which were brought in by Peter the Hermit in the eleventh century, by which the repeating the Angel's salutation to the Virgin was made a great part of their devotion, and was ten times said for one Pater Noster. Instructions were given to the visitors to put all these down in a new visitation, and to enquire if any priests continued to drive a trade by trentals, or masses for departed souls. Order was also given, that there should be no private masses at altars in the corners of churches, and that there should be but one communion in the day, unless it were in great churches, and at high festivals, in which they were allowed to have one communion in the morning, and another at noon. The visitors made their report, that they found the Book of Common Prayer received universally over all the kingdom, only Lady Mary continued to have mass said according to the abrogated forms: upon this, the Council wrote to her to conform to the laws; for the nearer she was to the King in blood, she was so much the more obliged to give a good example to the rest of the subjects. She refused to comply with their desires, and sent one to the Emperor for his protection; upon which the Emperor pressed the English ambassadors, and they promised, that for some time she should be dispensed with. The Emperor pretended afterwards that they made him an absolute promise, that she should never be more troubled about it; but they said, it was only a temporary promise. A match was also proposed for her with the King of Portugal's brother, but it was let fall soon after. She refused to acknowledge the laws made when the King was under age, and carried herself very high; for she knew well that the Protector was then afraid of a war with France, and that made the Emperor's alliance more necessary to England: yet the Council sent for the officers of her household, and required them to let her know that the King's autho-

rity was the same when he was a child as at full age; and that it was now lodged in them; and though as they were single persons they were all inferior to her, yet as they were the King's Council she was bound to obey them, especially when they executed the law; which all subjects, of what rank soever, were bound to obey. Yet at present they durst go no further, for fear of the Emperor's displeasure: so it was resolved to connive at her mass.

Disputes concerning Christ's presence in the Sacrament.

The reformation of the greatest errors in divine worship being thus established, Cranmer proceeded next to establish a form of doctrine: the chief point that hitherto was untouched, was the presence of Christ in the Sacrament, which the priests magnified as the greatest mystery of the Christian religion, and the chief privilege of Christians; with which the simple and credulous vulgar were mightily affected. The Lutherans received that which had been for some ages the doctrine of the Greek Church, that in the Sacraments there was both bread and wine, and also the substance of the body and blood of Christ. The Helvetians looked on it only as a commemoration of the death of Christ. The Princes of Germany were at great pains to have these reconciled, in which Bucer had laboured with great industry: but Luther, being a man of harsh temper, did not easily bear contradiction, and was too apt to assume, in effect, that infallibility to himself, which he condemned in the Pope. Some took a middle way, and asserted a real presence; but it was not easy to understand what was meant by that expression, unless it was a real application of Christ's death; so that the meaning of *really* was *effectually*. But though Bucer followed this method, Peter Martyr did in his lectures declare plainly for the Helvetians. So Dr. Smith, and some others, intended publicly to oppose and affront him; and challenged him to a dispute about it; which he readily accepted, on these conditions, that the King's counsel should first approve of it, and that it should be managed in Scripture terms:

BOOK II.

1549.

for the strength of those Doctors lay in a nimble managing of those barbarous and unintelligible terms of the Schools, which though they sounded high, yet really they had no sense under that: so all the Protestants resolved to dispute in Scripture terms, which seemed more proper in matters of divinity than the metaphysical language of Schoolmen. The Council having appointed Dr. Cox, and some others, to preside in the dispute, Dr. Smith went out of the way, and a little after fled out of England; but before he went, he wrote a very mean submission to Cranmer: other Doctors disputed with Peter Martyr concerning transubstantiation; but that had the common fate of all public disputes, for both sides gave out that they had the better. At the same time there were also disputes at Cambridge, which were moderated by Ridley, that was sent down thither by the Council. He had fallen on Bertram's book of the Sacrament, and wondered much to find so celebrated a writer in the ninth century engage so plainly against the corporal presence: this disposed him to think that at that time it was not the received belief of the Church: he communicated the matter to Cranmer, and they together made great collections out of the Fathers on this head, and both wrote concerning it.

Arguments against the corporal presence.

The substance of their arguments was, that as Christ called the cup *the fruit of the vine*, so St. Paul called the other element *bread*, after the consecration; which shews that their natures were not changed. Christs peaking to Jews, and substituting the Eucharist in the room of the Pascal Lamb, used such expressions as had been customary among the Jews on that occasion; who called the Lamb the Lord's Passover; which could not be meant literally, since the Passover was the Angel's passing over their houses, when the first-born of the Egyptians were killed: so it being a commemoration of that, was called the Lord's Passover; and in the same sense did Christ call the bread *his body*: figurative expressions being ordinary in Scripture, and not improper in Sacraments, which may be called

figurative actions. It was also appointed for a remembrance of Christ, and that supposes absence. The elements were also called by Christ his *body broken*, and his *blood shed*; so it is plain they were his body, not as it is glorified in heaven, but as it suffered on the cross: and since the Scriptures speak of Christ's continuance in heaven till the last day, from thence they inferred, that he was not corporally present. And it was shewed, that the *eating Christ's flesh*, mentioned by St. John, was not to be understood of the Sacrament, since of every one that did eat, it is said, that he has *eternal life in him*. So that was to be understood only of receiving Christ's doctrine; and he himself shewed it was to be meant so, when he said, that *flesh profiteth nothing, but his words were spirit and life*. So that all this was according to Christ's ordinary way of teaching in parables. Many other arguments were brought from the nature of a body, to prove that it could not be in more places than one at once; and that it was not in a place after the manner of a spirit, but was always extended. They found also that the Fathers had taught, that the elements were still bread and wine, and were the types, the signs, and figures of Christ's body, not only according to Tertullian and St. Austin, but to the ancient Liturgies, both in the Greek and Roman Churches. But that on which they built most was, that Chrysostom, Gelasius, and Theodoret, arguing against those who said that the human nature in Christ was swallowed up by its union to his godhead; they illustrated the contrary thus: as in the Sacrament, the elements are united in the body of Christ, and yet continue to be the same that they were formerly, both in substance, nature, and figure; so the humanity was not destroyed by its union with the World. From which it appeared, that it was then the received opinion that the elements were not changed; and therefore all those high expressions in Chrysostom, or others, were only strains and figures of eloquence, to raise the devotion of the people higher in that holy action.

BOOK II.

1549.

But upon those expressions the following ages built that opinion; which agreeing so well with the designs of the priests for establishing the authority of that order, which by its character was qualified for the greatest performance that ever was; no wonder they took all imaginable pains to infuse it into the belief of the world: and those dark ages were disposed to believe every thing so much the rather, the more incredible that it appeared to be. In the ninth century, many of the greatest men of that age wrote against it, and none of them were for that condemned as heretics. The contrary opinion was then received in England, as appeared by one of the Saxon Homilies that was read on Easter-day, in which many of Bertram's words were put: but it was generally received in the eleventh and twelfth century, and fully established in the fourth Council in the Lateran. At first it was believed that the whole loaf was turned into one entire body, so that in the distribution every one had a joint given him; and according to that conceit it was given out, that it did often bleed, and was turned into pieces of flesh. But this seemed an indecent way of handling Christ's glorified body; so the Schoolmen did invent a more seemly notion, that a body might be in a place after the manner of a spirit, so that in every crumb there was an entire Christ; which, though it appeared very hard to be conceived, yet it generally prevailed; and then the miracles fitted for the former opinion were no more heard of, but new ones, agreeing to this hypothesis, were set up in their stead; so dexterously did the priests deceive the world. And because a mouthful of bread or a draught of wine would have been shrewd temptations to make the people think it was really bread and wine that they got; therefore as the cup was taken away, so instead of bread a thin wafer was given, to make the people more easily imagine, that it was only the accidents of bread that were received by them. Upon these grounds did Cranmer and Ridley go in this matter.

Anabaptists in England.

There were some Anabaptists at this time in

England, that were come over out of Germany. Of them there were two sorts: some only objected to the baptizing of children, and to the manner of it by sprinkling, and not by dipping; others held many opinions, that had been anciently condemned as heresies. They had raised a cruel war in Germany, and set up a new King at Munster; but all these carried the name of Anabaptists from that of infant baptism, though it was one of the mildest opinions that they held. Some of these came over to England; so a commission was granted to some Bishops and others to search them out, and to proceed against them. Several persons were brought before them, and did abjure their errors; which were, "that there was not a trinity of persons; "that Christ was not God, and took not flesh of "the Virgin; and that a regenerate man could not "sin." One Joan Bocher, called Joan of Kent, denied that Christ took flesh of the substance of his mother; she was out of measure vain and conceited of her notions, and rejected all the instruction that was offered her with scorn: so she was condemned as an obstinate heretic, and delivered to the secular arm. But it was very hard to persuade the King to sign the warrant for her execution: he thought it was an instance of the same spirit of cruelty, for which the Reformers condemned the Papists. It was hard to condemn one to be burned for some wild opinions, especially when they seemed to flow from a disturbed brain. But Cranmer persuaded him, that he, being God's lieutenant, was bound, in the first place, to punish those offences committed against God: he also alledged the laws of Moses for punishing blasphemers; and he thought errors that struck immediately against the Apostles' Creed, ought to be capitally punished. These things did rather silence than satisfy the young King. He signed the warrant with tears in his eyes, and said to Cranmer, that since he resigned up himself in that matter to his judgment, if he sinned in it, it should lie at his door. This struck the Archbishop; and both he and Ridley took her into their houses, and tried

Two were burned.

BOOK II.

1549.

what reason, joined with gentleness, could do. But she was still more and more insolent: so at last she was burned, and ended her life very indecently, breaking out often in jeers and reproaches, and was looked on as a person fitter for Bedlam than a stake. Some time after that, a Dutchman, George van Parre, was also condemned and burned for denying the divinity of Christ, and saying, that the Father only was God. He had led a very exemplary life, both for fasting, devotion, and a good conversation, and suffered with extraordinary composedness of mind. These things cast a great blemish on the Reformers: it was said, they only condemned cruelty when it was exercised on themselves, but were ready to practise it when they had power. The Papists made great use of this afterwards in Queen Mary's time, and what Cranmer and Ridley suffered in her time, was thought a just retaliation on them, from that wise Providence that dispenses all things justly to all men. For the other sort of Anabaptists, no severities were used against them, but several books were written to justify infant baptism; and the practice of the Church so early begun, and so universally spread, was thought a good plea, especially being grounded on such arguments in Scripture as did demonstrate, at least, the lawfulness of it.

The doctrine of predestination abused.

Another sort of people was much complained of who built so much on the received opinion of predestination, that they thought they might live as they pleased; since nothing could resist an absolute decree: nor did those who had advanced that opinion, know well how to hinder people from making such inferences from it; all they did was to warn them not to pry too much into those secrets: but if the opinion was true, there was no need of much prying to make such conclusions from it. This had a very ill effect on the lives of many, who thought they were set loose from all obligations; and that was indeed the greatest scandal of the Reformation. The preachers were aware of it, and apprehensive of the judgments of God that

would follow on it: of which they gave the nation free warning. BOOK II.

At this time a sort of contagion of rage run over all the commons of England. The nobility and gentry, finding more advantage by the trade of wool, than by their corn, did generally inclose their grounds, and turn them to pasture; and so kept but few servants, and took large portions of their estates into their own hands: and yet the number of the people increased, marriage being allowed to all; the abrogation of many holidays, and the putting down of pilgrimages, gave them also more time to work: so the commons feared to be reduced to great slavery. Some proposed an Agrarian law for regulating this; and the King himself wrote a discourse about it, that there might be some equality in the division of the soil among the tenants. The Protector was a great friend to the commons and complained much of the oppression of the landlords. There was a commission issued out, to enquire concerning enclosures and farms; and whether those who purchased the abbey lands, and were obliged to keep up hospitality, performed it or not; and what encouragement they gave to husbandry: but this turned to nothing. So the commons rose everywhere: yet in most of the inland countries they were easily dispersed; and it was promised that their grievances should be redressed. The Protector, against the Council's mind, set out a proclamation against all new inclosures, and for indemnifying the people for what was passed. Commissioners were also sent everywhere to hear and determine all complaints; but the power that was given to them was so arbitrary, that the landlords called it an invasion of property, when their rights were thus subjected to the pleasures of such men. The commons, understanding that the Protector was so favourable to them, were thereby more encouraged; and it was afterwards objected to him, that the convulsions England fell in soon after, was chiefly occasioned by his ill conduct; in which he was the more blamed, because

1549. Tumults in several parts of England.

BOOK II.

1549. The rebellion in Devonshire.

he acted against the mind of the greatest part of the Council. In Devonshire the insurrection was more formidable; the superstition of the priests joining with the rage of the commons, so they became quickly ten thousand strong. The Lord Russel was sent against them with a small force, and was ordered to try if the matter could be composed without blood: but Arundel, a man of quality, commanding the rebels, they were not a loose body of people, easily dissipated. They sent their demands to Court, "That the old service and ceremonies might be set up again; that the act of "the six Articles, and the decrees of General "Councils, might be again in force; that the Bible "in English should be called in; that preachers "should pray for the souls in purgatory; that "Cardinal Pole should be restored; that the half "of the abbey-lands should be restored, to found "two abbeys in every county; and that gentlemen "of one hundred marks a year might have but one "servant." And they desired a safe conduct for their chief leaders, in order to the redress of their particular grievances: afterwards they moderated their desires only to points of religion. Cranmer wrote a large answer to these, shewing the novelty and superstition of those rites and ceremonies, and of that whole way of worship, of which they were so fond; and that the amendments and changes had been made according to the Scriptures, and the customs of the primitive Church; and that their being fond of a worship which they understood not, and being desirous to be kept still in ignorance, without the Scriptures, shewed their priests had greater power over them than the common reason of all mankind had. As for the six Articles, that act had never passed, if the King had not gone in person to the Parliament, and argued for it; yet he soon saw his error, and was slack in executing it. After that there was a high threatening answer sent them in the King's name, charging them for their rebellion and blind obedience to their priests. In it the King's authority, under

age, was largely set forth; for by the pretence of the King's minority, the people generally were made to believe, that their rising in arms was not rebellion. In conclusion, they were earnestly invited to submit to the King's mercy, as others had done, whom the King had not only pardoned, but had redressed their just grievances. At the same time the like spirit of rage inflamed the commons in Norfolk; they pretended nothing of religion, but only to destroy the gentry, and put new counsellors about the King: they were led by one Ket, a tanner, and in a few days grew to be twenty thousand. They encamped near Norwich, and committed great outrages. Parker afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, went in among them, and with great freedom inveighed against their rebellion and cruelty, and warned them of the judgments of God that would fall on them; for which he was in great danger of his life. Ket was now their Prince, and in imitation of the ancient Druids, he did justice upon complaints brought before him under an oak, called frem thence the *Oak of Reformation.* The Marquis of Northampton was sent against them, with orders to keep at a distance, and cut off their provisions. There was at the same time a rising likewise in Yorkshire, where the commons, being encouraged by some pretended prophecies, ran together, and committed acts of great barbarity on some gentlemen. The French King hearing of all this, resolved to take his advantage, and regain Boulogne: three days before he marched with his army, the English ambassador pressing him upon the intimations that were given him of his designs, he assured him, on the faith of a gentleman, that he would not begin a war till he had first given warning. But many Princes reckon it a part of their prerogative to be exempted from such ties, by which only poor subjects ought to be fettered. All these things falling upon the government at once, it may be easily imagined they were under no small consternation. A fast was proclaimed at Court, where Cranmer preached with great freedom and

And in Norfolk.

The French begin a war.

BOOK II.

1549.

vehemence: he laid out before them their vicious and ill lives, particularly of those who pretended a love to the Gospel; and set before them the judgments of God that they might look for; and enlarged on the fresh example of the calamities of Germany; and intimated the sad apprehensions he had of some terrible stroke, if they did not repent and amend their lives.

The rebels everywhere routed.

The rebels in Devonshire besieged Exeter: the citizens resisted their assaults, but could not so easily resist the assaults that hunger made on them; for they were not provided for a siege. They were reduced at last to great extremities, which made the Lord Russel, after he had got such supplies as he judged necessary, resolve to fall upon them. They possessed themselves of a bridge behind him, both to inclose him, and to hinder others from joining with him; but he marched back, and did quickly beat them from it, with the loss of six hundred of their men; and by that essay he perceived how easy a work it would be to disperse them. He upon that marched forward to Exeter, and beat the rebels from a bridge that opened his way to their camp, killing a thousand of them: upon which they raised the siege, and retired in great disorder to Launceston. He pursued them as long as they kept in a body, and great numbers of them were killed; some of their leaders and priests were taken and hanged: so happily was that rebellion subdued, without any loss on the King's side. But the Marquis of Northampton was not so successful in Norfolk: he marched into Norwich. The rebels having a great party in the town, which was a place of no strength, fell in upon him next day, and drove him out of it; one hundred of his men were killed, and thirty taken prisoners. Upon this they were much lifted up; but the Earl of Warwick coming thither with six thousand men, that were prepared to be sent to Scotland, they after some skirmishes with him, were forced to retire; for they had wasted all the country about, so that their provisions failed them: but Warwick

1549.

followed them close, and killed great numbers, and dispersed them: Ket and some of their leaders were taken, and hanged in chains. The news of this going to Yorkshire, the rebels there, that had not exceeded three thousand, accepted the offer of pardon that was sent them; and some of the more factious, that were animating them to make new commotions, were taken and hanged. On the 21st of August, the Protector published a general pardon in the King's name of all that had been done before that day. Many of the Council opposed this, and judged it better to keep the commons under the lash; but the Protector thought, that as long as such members continued in such fears, it would be easy to raise new disorders: so he resolved, though without the majority of the Council, to go through with it. This disgusted the Council extremely, who thought he took too much upon him.

A visitation of Cambridge.

A visitation of Cambridge followed soon after this. Ridley was the chief of the visitors. When he found that a design was laid to suppress some Colleges, under pretence of uniting them to others; and to convert some fellowships that were provided for Divines, to the study of the civil law, he refused to go along in that with the other visitors; and particularly opposed the suppression of Clare-Hall, which they began with. He said, the Church was already too much robbed, and yet some men's ravenousness was not satisfied. It seemed the design was laid to drive both religion and learning out of the land; therefore he desired leave to be gone. The visitors complained of him to the Protector, and imputed his concern for Clare-Hall to his partiality for the North, where he was born, that being a house for the northern counties. Upon that, the Protector wrote him a chiding letter; but he answered it with the freedom that became a Bishop, who was resolved to suffer all things, rather than to sin against his conscience: and the Protector was so well satisfied with him, that the College was preserved. There was at this time an

BOOK II.

1549.

end put to a very foolish controversy, that had occasioned some heat, concerning the pronunciation of the Greek tongue, which many used more suitably to an English than a Greek accent. Cheek being the Professor of Greek, had taught the truer rules of pronunciation; but Gardiner was an enemy to every thing that was new, and so he opposed it much in King Henry's time, and Cheek was made to leave the chair: but both he and Sir Thomas Smith wrote in vindication of his rules with so much learning, that all people wondered to see so much brought out upon so slight an occasion; but Gardiner was not a man to be wrought on by reason. Now the matter was settled, and the new way of pronunciation took place, and that the rather, because the patrons of it were in such power, the one being the King's tutor, and the other made Secretary of State: and that Gardiner, who opposed it, was now in the Tower. So great an influence has greatness in supporting the most speculative and indifferent things.

Bonner's process.

Bonner was now brought in trouble: it was not easy to know how to deal with him, for he obeyed every order that was sent him; and yet it was known that he secretly hated and condemned all that was done; and, as often as he could declare that safely, he was not wanting by such ways to preserve his interest with the Papists: and though he obeyed the orders of Council, yet he did it in so remiss a manner, that it was visible that it went against the grain. So he was called before the Council, and charged with several particulars, that whereas he used to officiate himself on the great festivals, he had not done it since the new service was set out; that he took no care to repress adultery, and that he never preached. So they ordered him to officiate every festival, to preach once a quarter, and to begin within three weeks, and preach at St. Paul's; and to be present at every sermon when he was in health; and to proceed severely against those who withdrew from the new service, and against adulterers. They required

August.

him to set forth the heinousness of rebellion, and the nature of true religion, and the indifference of outward ceremonies; and particularly to declare, that the King's authority was the same, and as much to be obeyed before he was of age as after. On the first of September he preached; he said nothing of the power of Kings under age, and spoke but little to the other points, but enlarged much on the corporal presence in the Sacrament. Hooper and W. Latimer, two of his hearers, informed against him. So a commission was granted to Cranmer, Ridley, the two Secretaries of State, and May, Dean of St. Paul's, to examine that matter, and to imprison or deprive him, as they should see cause for it: they were also authorized to proceed in the summary way of the spiritual courts. He was summoned to Lambeth, where he carried himself with great disrespect and disingenuity towards the delegates, and gave the informers very foul language; and in his whole discourse, he behaved himself like one that was disturbed in his brain. When the commission was read, he made a protestation against it, reserving to himself a power to except to divers things in it. He said the informers were heretics, and only prosecuted him because he had taught the presence of Christ in the Sacrament. At the next meeting Secretary Smith was there, who was not present at the first; so upon that account Bonner protested against him: he also charged heresy on his accusers, who were thereby under excommunication, and so not capable to appear in any court. He denied that any injunctions had been given him under the King's hand or signet; he said he had preached against the late rebels, which implied that the King's power was complete, though he was under age. It was answered to this, that the Court might proceed *ex officio*, without informers: and that the injunctions, concerning the heads of which he was required to treat in his sermon, were read to him by one of the Secretaries, and were given him by the Protector, and they were afterwards called for, and

BOOK II.

1549.

BOOK II.

1549.

that article about the King's power under age was, by order of Council, added; and the paper was delivered to him by Secretary Smith. At a third appearance, the informers offered to vindicate themselves of the charge of heresy; but after some scurrilous language given them by Bonner, he was called upon to answer to the main business, which was, his saying nothing of the King's power under age: to this he said, he had prepared notes about it, both from the instances in Scripture of Solomon, Joash, and Manasses, of Josiah and Joakim, that reigned under age; as also several instances in the English story, as Henry the Third, Edward the Third, Richard the Second, Henry the Sixth, and Edward the Fifth; but he pretended these things had escaped his memory; and a long account of the defeat of the rebels being sent to him by the Council, with an order to read it, had put him in some confusion, and that the book in which he had put his notes fell from him; for which he appealed to his chaplains, whom he had employed to gather for him the names of those Kings who had reigned before they were of age. But this did not satisfy the court; so they proceeded to examine witnesses, whom Bonner entangled all he could with interrogatories, and the niceties of the canon law. Bonner built his main defence on this, that in the paper which the Protector gave him, that article concerning the King's age was not mentioned, but was afterwards added by Smith; so that he was not bound to obey it: but it was proved that the whole Council ordered that addition to be made. Smith had treated him somewhat sharply, for his carriage was very provoking; upon that he renewed his former protestation against him, and refused to look on him as his judge, since he had declared himself so partial against him: he complained, that Smith had compared him to thieves and traitors. Smith said, it was visible he acted as they did: to which Bonner answered, that as he was Secretary of State, he honoured him, but as he was Sir Thomas Smith, he lied, and he defied him. And being

BOOK II. 1549.

threatened with imprisonment, he seemed not much concerned at it; he said, he had a few goods, a poor carcase and a soul; the two former were in their power, but he would take care of the latter. And upon that he appealed to the King, and would not answer any more, unless Smith should withdraw. For that contempt he was sent to the Marshalsea; but as he was carried away, he broke out into great passion, both against Smith and Cranmer. Being called again before them, he adhered to his former appeal; and some new matter being brought against him, he refused to answer. Great endeavours were used to persuade him to submit. Promises were made him of gentler usage for the future; but he continued obstinate, and instead of retracting, he renewed his appeal. So on the first of October, Cranmer, Ridley, Smith, and May, pronounced sentence of deprivation, because he had not obeyed the orders of the Protector and Council, nor declared the King's power, while he was under age. He was sent back to prison till the King should give further order, and a large record was made of his whole deportment during the process, and put in the register of the see of London, which he took no care to deface when he was afterwards restored. This was much censured as, at best, a great stretch of law, if not plainly contrary to it. Some complained that Laymen concurred in such a sentence; but it was said, this was no spiritual censure, for he was not degraded, but only deprived of his bishopric; and he had taken a commission for holding it during the King's pleasure; and so those that were commissioned by the King might well deprive him, since he held it so precariously. It was also said, that Constantine had appointed triers for hearing the complaints made of some Bishops; and they examined the business of Cecilian and the Donatists, upon an appeal from some synods, that had before judged that matter. That same Emperor did also, by his own authority, turn out the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, and the Bishop of Constantinople;

And deprivation.

BOOK II.

1549.

and though the orthodox party complained of his doing it upon the false suggestions of the Arians, yet they did not deny his authority in such cases; and it was ordinary for the Emperors to appoint the Bishops that followed their Court to judge some other Bishops; which was not done canonically, but by the Emperor's authority. But to the matter of the sentence, it was also said, that it was hard to deprive Bonner for an omission that might be only a defect of his memory, as he pretended it was, though few believed that. Upon the whole matter, it was visible that it had been resolved to turn him out on the first occasion that could be found, and that they took hold of him on this disadvantage; and that the fault was rather aggravated for his sake, than he deprived for the fault; which would have been more gently passed over in another: but he had been fierce and cruel, and so was much hated, and little pitied. He remained a prisoner till Queen Mary's reign, but continued to behave himself more like a glutton than a divine; for he sent about to his friends to furnish him well with puddings and pears, and gave them all to the devil that did not supply him liberally. Such curses were strange acts of episcopal jurisdiction; yet they were mild, compared to those he gave out when he was again restored to his see in the next reign, by which he condemned so many innocents to the fire.

Ill success of the English.

The English affairs in foreign parts went very unsuccessfully this year; for when they were so distracted at home, no wonder if both the French and Scots took advantage from thence. Most of the forts about Boulogne were taken by the French; but though those that commanded them did, for their own excuse, pretend they were ill provided; yet the French writers published that they were well stored. From these they came, and set down before Boulogne; and though the plague broke into the French camp, yet the siege was not raised. The King left the army under the command of Coligny, the famous Admiral of France. He

BOOK II.

1549.

found the sure way to take it was to cut it off from sea, and so to keep out all supplies; but the several attempts he made to do that proved unsuccessful. The winter that came on forced him to raise the siege; but he lodged a great part of his army in the forts about, so that it was in danger of being lost next year. In Scotland there was also a great turn; the castle of Broughty was taken by the Scots, and the garrison almost wholly cut off. The English took care to provide Hadington well, expecting a siege; but upon that the Scots let it alone; yet the charge of keeping it was so great, and the country about it was so wasted, that all their provisions were to be sent from Berwick, so that the Protector thought it more advisable to abandon it; and upon that sent orders to the garrison to slight the works, and come back to England. So that now the English had no place beyond the borders, except Lander; and Thermes the French general sat down before it, and if a peace had not come, it had fallen into his hands. The Protector had now no foreign ally to depend on but the Emperor, and little was to be expected from him; for he was so dissatisfied with the changes that had been made in the matters of religion, that they found his assistance was not to be trusted to. At this time the Emperor brought his son to the Netherlands, that he might put him in possession of those provinces; though the secret considerations that made him do it so early, in those places where the Prince was not elective, is not visible. It was thought they inclined to shake off his yoke; and that if the Emperor should have then died, they would have put themselves under Maximilian, Ferdinand's son, afterwards Emperor. It was some such apprehension that moved Charles to make them swear obedience so early to his son, and settle not only many limitations on him in the matter of imposing taxes, and of not putting strangers in places of trust, nor governing them by a military power, but make a special provision, that in case his son should break those rules, the provinces

BOOK II.

1549.

should not be bound to obey him any longer; which was the chief ground both in law and conscience, upon which they afterwards justified their shaking off his yoke. Charles, that was born in those parts, had a peculiar tenderness for them, and did perhaps fear that the rigid councils of the Spaniards might prevail too much on his son, which made him so careful to secure their liberties; a rare instance of a Prince's love for his people, by which he took such care of their rights, as to make their tie of obedience to his son to depend on his maintaining them inviolably. The Princes of Germany were now at the Emperor's mercy, and saw no way to recover their liberty, but by the help of the French King: so there were applications made to him, which he cheerfully entertained; only he was resolved first to make himself master of Boulogne, and then to turn his whole force towards Germany. Advertisements were given of this to the Protector, upon which he entered into a deep consultation with his friends what was fit to be done in so critical a conjuncture; whether it was better to deliver up Boulogne to the French by a treaty, or to engage in a war to preserve it: which being on the French side, would prove a much more chargeable war to the English than to the French; and this was of very dangerous consequence, when affairs were in so unsettled a condition at home; ill success, which was like to be the event of such a war, would turn on him that had the chief administration of affairs: so both regard to the public, and to the establishing his private fortune, which could not be done in time of war, without drawing much envy on him, inclined him to deliver up Boulogne. But his enemies saw that the continuance of the war was like to ruin him; whereas a general peace would put the nation wholly in his hands; and therefore they who were the majority in the Council, set themselves against all motions for the treaty; and said, it would be a lasting reproach on the government, if such a place as Boulogne was sold.

1549. Several expedients proposed.

Paget gave his opinion in writing, in which, after he had, with great judgment, balanced the affairs of Europe, he concluded, that the restoring the liberty of Germany, and the bearing down the Emperor's greatness, was at present to be preferred to all other things, and that could not be done without a conjunction with France; and that was to be pursued by the mediation of the Venetians. Thomas, a clerk of the Council, and much employed in foreign affairs, was of another mind: he thought it was very dishonourable to deliver up the late conquests in France: therefore he proposed their casting themselves on the Emperor, that so some time might be gained: they knew the Emperor would not be hearty, unless they would promise to return to the Roman religion; but he thought that was to be done in such an extremity of affairs; and when the present difficulty was over, they might turn to other Councils. There was great danger in this; it would very much dishearten the few towns that refused to bear the Emperor's yoke in Germany, and it would provoke the Emperor more against them afterwards, if he should find that he had been deceived by them. He also proposed, that in order to the embroiling of Scotland, some should be employed to persuade the governor to aspire to the crown, and that he should be assured of the assistance of England; for this would separate that nation from the interests of France.

The Emperor refuses his assistance.

The issue of these consultations was, first, the sending over Paget to the Emperor, to try what might be expected from him. His public instructions were to obtain an explanation of some ambiguous words in the former treaty, and a ratification of it by Prince Philip, and to adjust some differences in the matter of trade: but his secret instructions were to see if the Emperor would include Boulogne in the league defensive, and so protect it: or, if that could not be obtained, he was ordered to try, whether the Emperor would take Boulogne into his hands, and what recompense he would give for it; but this he was ordered to propose as a motion of

BOOK II.

1549.

his own. The Emperor shifted him off for som time by delays; and pretended that the carryin his son about from town to town, making ther swear obedience, took him up so, that till that wa over, he could not receive his propositions. Bu the progress of the French about Boulogne, mad Paget impatient; so the Bishop of Arras, and th Emperor's other ministers were appointed to trea with him. They at first treated of some difference between the Courts of Admiralty of both sides, an proposed some expedients for adjusting them: fo the confirmation of the treaty, it was offered, tha the Prince should do it; but Paget moved likewise that it might be confirmed by the States. It wa answered, that the Emperor would never sue to hi subjects to confirm his treaties: he had fifteen o sixteen Parliaments, and would be in a very uneas condition, if all these must know the secrets of hi negociations: but since the King of England wa under age, it was more reasonable for them t demand a ratification from his Parliament. Pag answered, the King's power was the same at al ages, and a ratification under the great seal di oblige him as much as if he had made the treat himself; and objected, that their last treaty wit France was ratified by the assembly of the States To this they answered, that the prerogative of th Kings of France was so limited, that they could no alienate any thing which belonged to the Crown without consent of the Parliament of Paris, and o the States; but the Emperor had a more unlimite power in making treaties. As for the business o Boulogne, the Bishop of Arras said, it was take after the Emperor's treaty with England, and s was not included in it; nor could the Empero comprehend it within it, without breach of his fait and treaties with France; which was so contrar to the Emperor's honour, that it could not be done for the honour of a Prince is a good excuse, whe he has no mind to engage in a deceitful or unjus war; but it is often forgotten when the circum stances are more favourable. Paget, after sever

other conferences, found there was nothing more to be expected of the Emperor; so he returned back to England. It was upon that proposed in Council, whether, since, by the treaty with France, Boulogne was to be delivered up within a few years, it were not better to prevent a new war and a siege, the issue of which was like to prove very dangerous, and to enter into a treaty for doing it presently; and if at the same time it were not more advisable to make an end of the war in Scotland, since there was no possibility of compassing the marriage, for which it was first begun.

A faction against the Protector.

Upon this, all the Protector's enemies took off the mask, and declared themselves against it. The Earl of Southampton and the Earl of Warwick were the chief sticklers; the one hated him for turning him out of his office, and the other hoped to be the chief man in business if he should fall. Many things concurred to raise the Protector many enemies; his partiality to the commons provoked the gentry; his cutting off his brother's head, and building a magnificent palace in the Strand, upon the ruins of some Bishops' houses and churches, and that in a time both of war and plague, disgusted the people. The Clergy hated him, not only for his promoting the changes made in religion, but for his possessing himself of so many of the Bishops' best manors: his entertaining foreign troops, both Germans and Italians, though done by consent of the Council, yet gave a general distaste. And that great advancement he was raised to wrought much both on himself and others; for it raised his pride, as much as it provoked the envy of others: the Privy Counsellors complained, that he was become so arbitrary in his proceedings, that he little regarded the opposition that was made by the majority of the Council to any of his designs. All these things concurred to beget him many enemies; and, except Cranmer, who never forsook a friend, and Paget and Smith, all turned against him. So they violently opposed the proposition of a treaty with France: they also complained,

BOOK II.

1549.

that the places about Boulogne were lost by his carelessness, and by his not providing them well; and that he had recalled the garrison out of Hadington; and they put him in mind of the conditions upon which he was first made Protector, by which he was limited to do nothing but by their advice; though he had since that taken out a patent, which clothed him with a far greater power. Upon Paget's return, when it was visible that nothing could be expected from the Emperor, he pressed them much to consent to a treaty with France: but it was said, that he had secretly directed Paget to procure no better answer, that so he might be furnished with an excuse for so dishonourable an action; therefore they would not give way to it.

Which turns to a public breach. October.

The Protector carried the King to Hampton Court, and put many of his own creatures about him, which increased the jealousies: so nine of the Privy Council met at Ely-house, and assumed to themselves the authority of the Council; and Secretary Petre being sent by the King to ask an account of their meeting, instead of returning, joined himself to them. They made a large declaration of the Protector's ill government and bad designs, and of his engaging the King to set his hand to letters for raising men, and for dispersing seditious papers; therefore they resolved to see to the safety of the King and kingdom. Both the city of London and the Lieutenant of the Tower declared for them; they also sent letters all over England, desiring the assistance of the nobility and gentry. Seven more Privy Counsellors came and joined with them. They wrote to the King, complaining of the Protector's obstinacy, and his refusing to hearken to their counsels, though the late King had left the government of his person and kingdom to them in common, and the Protector was advanced to that dignity by them, upon conditions which he had little regarded; therefore they desired the King would construe well of their intentions and proceedings. The Protector had removed the King from Hampton Court, as being an

open place, to Windsor, which had some more defence about it; and had armed some of his own servants, and set them about the King's person, which heightened the jealousies of him; yet seeing himself abandoned by all his friends, except a few, and finding the party against him was formed to such a strength, that it would be in vain to struggle any longer, he offered to submit himself to the Council. So a proposition of a treaty was set on foot; and the Lords at London were desired to send two of their number with their propositions, and a passport was sent them for their safety. Cranmer and the other two wrote to the Council, to dispose them to an agreement, and not to follow cruel counsels. Many false reports, as is usual on such occasions, were carried of the Protector, as if he had threatened, that, if they intended to put him to death, the King should die first, which served to increase the prejudices against him. The Council wrote to Cranmer and Paget, charging them to look well to the King's person, that he should not be removed from Windsor; and that the Duke of Somerset's servants might be put from him, and his own sworn servants admitted to wait: they also protested that they would proceed with all the moderation and favour towards the Duke of Somerset that was possible. The Council understanding that all things were prepared as they had desired, sent first three of their number, to see that the Duke of Somerset, and some of his creatures, Smith, Stanhope, Thynne, Wolf, and Cecil, should be confined to their lodgings; and on the twelfth of October, the whole Council went to Windsor, and made great protestations of their duty to the King, which he received favourably; and assured them, he took all that they had done in good part.

BOOK II.

1549.

The Protector's fall.

The Duke of Somerset, with the rest of his friends, except Cecil, who was presently enlarged, were sent to the Tower, and many articles were objected to him, that he being made Protector, with this condition, that he should do nothing but by the consent of the other executors, had treated

BOOK II. 1549. with ambassadors apart; had made Bishops and Lord Lieutenants without their knowledge; had held a Court of Requests in his house; had embased the coin; had neglected the places the King had in France; had encouraged the commons in their late insurrections; and had given out commissions and proclaimed a pardon without their consent: that he had animated the King against the rest of the Council, and had proclaimed them traitors, and had put his own servants armed about the King's person. By these it appears, the crimes against him were the effects of his sudden exaltation, that had made him too much forget that he was a subject; but that he had carried his greatness with much innocence, since no acts of cruelty, rapine, or bribery, were objected to him; for they were rather errors and weaknesses, than crimes. His embasing the coin was done upon a common mistake of weak governments, who fly to that as their last refuge in the necessity of their affairs. In his imprisonment, he set himself to the study of moral philosophy and divinity, and wrote a preface to a book of patience, which had made great impressions on him. His fall was a great affliction to all that loved the Reformation; and that was increased, because they had no reason to trust much to the two chief men of the party against him, Southampton and Warwick; the one was a known Papist, and the other was looked on as a man of no religion: and both at the Emperor's Court, and in France, it was expected, that upon this revolution matters of religion would be again set back into the posture in which King Henry had left them. The Duke of Norfolk and Gardiner hoped to be discharged, and Bonner looked to be re-established in his bishopric again, and all people began to fall off much from the new service: but the Earl of Warwick, finding the King was zealously addicted to the Reformation, quickly forsook the Popish party, and seemed to be a mighty promoter of that work. A court of civilians was appointed to examine Bonner's appeal, and upon their report

the Council rejected it, and confirmed the sentence that was passed upon him.

1549. The Emperor will not assist them.

But next, foreign affairs came under their care. They suspected that Paget had not dealt effectually with the Emperor, to assist them in the preservation of Boulogne; so they sent over Sir Thomas Cheyney, to try what might be expected from him: they also took care of the garrison, and both increased it and supplied it well. Cheyney found the same reception with the Emperor, and had the same answer that Paget got. The Emperor pressed him much that matters of religion might be again considered, and confessed, till that were done, he could not assist them so effectually as otherwise he would do: so now the Council found it necessary to apply to the Court of France for a peace. The Earl of Southampton left the Court in great discontent; he was neither restored to the office of Chancellor, nor was he made one of the six Lords that were appointed to have the charge of the King's person; this touched him so much, that he died not long after of grief, as was believed.

A session of Parliament.

In November a session of Parliament met: in which an act was passed, declaring it treason to call any to the number of twelve together, about any matter of state, if, being required, they did not disperse themselves: other riotous assemblies were also declared felonious; the giving out of prophecies concerning the King, or Council, was also made penal. Another law was made against vagabonds; the former statute was repealed, as too severe; and provisions were made for the relief of the sick and impotent, and employing such as could work. The Bishops made a heavy complaint of the growth of vice and impiety, and that their power was so much abridged, that they could not repress it: so a bill was read, enlarging their authority, but it was thought that it gave them too much power; yet it was so moderated, that the Lords passed it, but the Commons rejected it; and, instead of it, sent up a bill that empowered thirty-two, who were to be named by the King, the one half of the temporality,

BOOK II.

and the other of the spirituality, to compile a body of ecclesiastical laws within three years; and that these, not being contrary to the common or statute law, and approved of by the King, should have the force of ecclesiastical laws: of the thirty-two, four were to be Bishops, and as many to be common lawyers.

1550. Six Bishops and six Divines were empowered to prepare a new form of ordination; which being confirmed under the great seal, should take place after April next. Articles were also put in against the Duke of Somerset, with a confession signed by him. But some objected, that they ought not to proceed, till they knew whether he had signed it voluntarily, or not; and some were sent to examine him. He acknowledged he had done it freely, but protested that his errors had flowed rather from indiscretion than malice, and denied all treasonable designs against the King, or the realm. He was fined in 2000*l.* a year in land, and in the loss of all his goods and offices. He complained of the heaviness of this censure, and desired earnestly to be restored to the King's favour, and promised to carry himself so humbly and obediently, that he should make amends for his past follies; which was thought a sign of too abject a mind; others excused it, since the power and malice of his enemies was such, that he was not safe as long as he continued in prison. He was discharged in the beginning of February: soon after he had his pardon, and did so manage his interest in the King, that he was again brought both to the Court and Council in April. But if these submissions gained him some favour at Court, they sunk him as much in the esteem of the world.

The Duke of Somerset fined, but restored to favour.

A progress in the Reformation.

The Reformation was now, after this confusion was over, carried on again with vigour. The Council sent orders over England, to require all to conform themselves to the new service, and to call in all the books of the old Offices. An act passed in Parliament to the same effect, one Earl, six Bishops, and four Lords only dissenting: all the old

books and images were appointed to be defaced, and all prayers to saints were to be struck out of the primers published by the late King. A subsidy was granted, and the King gave a general pardon, out of which all prisoners on the account of the state, and Anabaptists, were excepted. In this session the eldest sons of Peers were first allowed to sit in the House of Commons.

BOOK II. 1550.

The Book of Ordinations put out.

The committee appointed to prepare the Book of Ordinations finished their work with common consent; only Heath, Bishop of Worcester, refused to sign it, for which he was called before the Council, and required to do it; but he still refusing was sent to prison. This was thought hard measure, to punish one for not concurring in a thing not yet settled by law. Heath was a complier, who went along with the changes that were made, but was ready, upon the first favourable conjuncture, to return back to the old superstition. It was found, that in the ancient Church there was nothing used in ordinations but prayer and imposition of hands: the additions of anointing and giving consecrated vestments were afterwards brought in. And in the Council of Florence it was declared, that the rite of ordaining a priest was the delivering the vessels for the Eucharist, with a power to offer sacrifices to God for the dead and living, which was a novelty invented to support the belief of transubstantiation. So all these additions were cut off, and ordination was restored to a greater simplicity; and the form was made almost the same that we still use; only then in ordaining a priest, the Bishop was to lay one hand on his head, and with the other to give him a Bible, and a chalice, and bread in it. In the consecration of a Bishop, the form was the same that we still retain; only then they kept up the custom of giving the Bishop a staff, saying these words, *Be to the flock of Christ a Shepherd.* In the middle of the sixth century, the anointing the priests' hands was begun in France, but was not used in the Roman Church for two ages after that. In the eighth century, the vestments were given

BOOK II. 1550.

with a special blessing, empowering priests to offer expiatory sacrifices; then their heads were anointed: and in the tenth century, the belief of transubstantiation being received, the vessels for the Sacrament were delivered. It is evident, from the several forms of ordination, that the Church did not believe itself tied to one manner; and that the prayer, which in some ages was the prayer of consecration, was in other ages esteemed only a prayer preparatory to it. There were some sponsions promised as a covenant, to which the ordination was a seal. The first of these was, that the persons, that came to receive orders, *professed that they believed they were inwardly moved to it by the Holy Ghost.* If this were well considered, it would no doubt put many that thirst after sacred offices to a stand, who, if they examine themselves well, dare not pretend to that, concerning which perhaps they know nothing, but that they have it not: and if they make the answer prescibed in the book, without feeling any such motion in their heart, they do publicly lie to God, and against the Holy Ghost, and have no reason to expect a blessing on orders so obtained. But too many consider that only as a ceremony in law, necessary to make them capable of some place of profit, and not as the dedication of their lives and labours to God, and to the gaining of souls. It were happy for the Church if Bishops would not think it enough barely to put these questions, but would use great strictness in examining beforehand the motives that set on those who come to be ordained. Another sponsion is, *That the priests shall teach the people committed to their chage, and exhort them both in private and public, and visit the sick.* By this they plight their faith to God for the care of souls to be managed by them in person, and upon that they must find the pastoral care to be a load indeed; and so will neither desert their flocks, nor hire them out to weak and, perhaps, scandalous mercenaries. In which the faultiness of some have brought a blemish on this Church, and given scandal to many, who could not have been so easily per-

suaded to divide from it, if it had not been that they were prejudiced by such gross and public abuses. BOOK II.

The Council was now much perplexed with the business of Boulogne; and though they had opposed the delivering it up by the Protector, yet that end being served in pulling him down, they were convinced of the necessity of doing it, and so were induced to listen to the proposition that one Guidotti made for a treaty. He was employed by the constable Montmorency, and gave them assurances, that, as soon as that was ended, the French King would engage on the behalf of the oppressed Princes of the empire. 1550.

Pole chosen Pope, but lost it.

At this time Pope Paul the Third died. In the conclave that followed, Cardinal Farnese set up Cardinal Pole, whose wise behaviour at Trent had raised his esteem much; it also appeared, that though he was of the Emperor's faction, yet he did not serve him blindly. Some loaded him both with the imputations of Lutheranism and of incontinence: the last would not have hindered his advancement much, though true; yet he fully cleared himself of it. But the former lay heavier; for in his retirement at Viterbo, where he was Legate, he had given himself much to the study of controversies; and Tranellius, Flaminio, and others suspected of Lutheranism, had lived in his house; and in the Council of Trent he seemed favourable to some of their opinions; but the great sufferings both of himself and family in England seemed to set him above all suspicions. When the party for him had almost gained a sufficient number of suffrages, he seemed little concerned at it, and did rather decline than aspire to that dignity; and expressed a pitch of philosophy on this occasion, that was more suitable to ancient than modern patterns. When a full number had agreed, and came to adore him, according to the ordinary ceremony, he received it with his usual coldness; and that being done in the night, he said, *God loved light*, and therefore advised them to delay it till day came. The Italians, among whom ambition passes for the

BOOK II.

1550.

character of a great mind, looked on this as an insufferable piece of dulness; so the Cardinals shrunk from him before day, and chose De Monte Pope, who reigned by the name of Julius the Third. His first promotion was very extraordinary; for he gave his own hat to a servant that kept his monkey; and being asked the reason of it, he said, he saw as much in his servant to recommend him to be a Cardinal, as the conclave saw in him to induce them to choose him Pope. But others imputed this to an unnatural affection for him.

A treaty with France.

Ambassadors were sent over to France, the Lord Russel, Paget, (made also a Lord,) and some others, to settle the treaty of peace. They were ordered in the first place to ask the delivery of the Scottish Queen, and payment of the perpetual pension. But the French would not treat about these; their master intended to marry the Scottish Queen to the Dauphin, and would not be tributary to another Prince, or pay a perpetual pension. But they offered a sum of money for Boulogne. Things stuck a little at the razing the fortifications in Alderney and Sark, two small islands in the Channel, which the French desired; and at the delivering up of Roxburgh and Eymouth to the Scots, then in the hands of the English. The Council ordered their commissioners to insist on these things, and to offer to break up their conference rather than yield to them; but if that had no effect on the French, then they were to let them go. In conclusion, the English, after a protestation, by which they reserved to the King all the rights that he had at the beginning of the war, agreed to deliver up Boulogne, and all the places about it, and all the ordnance in it, except what the English had cast, for which the French were to pay them four hundred thousand crowns. All the places which the English had in Scotland were to be delivered up, and the forts razed; and six hostages were to be be given on both sides for the performance, who were the sons of men of the greatest quality: so was the peace fully concluded, and the articles were

duly performed on both hands. The Council approved of the proceedings of their plenipotentiaries; only the Earl of Warwick, who had declared himself much against the delivery of Boulogne, pretended sickness, and was absent.

At this time the Earl of Warwick ordered a review to be made of all accounts, and brought in much money by the fines of those who were accused for malversation. The Earl Earl of Arundel was fined in 12000*l.* Sir James Thynne in 6000*l.* and many others of the Potector's creatures in 3000*l.*

Ridley made Bishop of London.

In February Ridley was made Bishop of London and Westminster; 1000*l.* a year of the rents of the see were assigned him, with licence to hold two prebends. Reps, Bishop of Norwich, resigned; upon which Thirleby, Bishop of Westminster, was removed to Norwich; and it was intended to reunite London and Westminster, but though they still remained different sees, yet they were now put under one man's care: his patent was not during pleasure, but during life. It does not appear that there was any design in this reign to put down cathedrals; for though Westminster, Gloucester, and Durham were suppressed, the two former being united, one to London, and another to Worcester; and the latter being to be divided in two; yet in none of these were the Dean and Chapter lands fallen on.

Gardiner's process.

Gardiner continued still in prison. During the Protector's ministry, some Privy Counsellors dealt with him, to sue to him for mercy, and to declare whether he approved the new service, or not; but he said, he had done no fault, and so would not ask pardon; nor would he declare his opinion while he continued a prisoner, lest his enemies might say, he did it only to be set at liberty. Upon the Protector's fall, he expected he should have been discharged of his imprisonment; and thought it so near, that he made a farewell feast to the officers in the Tower. Some Privy Counsellors were sent to him with articles, acknowledging former offences, approving the Book of Common Prayer, and assert-

BOOK II. 1550.

ing the King's power when he was under age, and his authority to reform abuses in the Church, and that the six Articles were justly abrogated. He signed the paper, only he wrote on the margin, that he could not confess former offences; for he was not convinced of any fault he had done. Upon this, it was believed that he was to be quickly let out; but another message was sent him, that he must confess that he had been justly punished: this he plainly refused to do, and said, he would never defame himself. Ridley was sent to him with a new paper, in which the confession of his faults was more softly worded: the rest related to the Pope's power, the suppressing the abbeys and chantries, pilgrimages, masses, images, the adoration of the Sacrament, communion in both kinds, the abolishing the old books of service, and setting up the new; with the Book of Ordinations, and the lawfulness of a married clergy: but he said, he would sign no more articles while he continued in prison; and desired that he might be either tried, or set at liberty; for he asked not mercy, but justice: and being called before the Council, and required to sign those articles, he gave them the same answer: he said some of these points were already settled by law: others were not so, and in these he was at liberty to do as he pleased. Upon this, his bishopric was sequestered, and he was required to conform himself within three months, under pain of deprivation; and the freedom of the Tower was denied him. All this was much censured, as contrary to law, and the liberties of Englishmen; and it was said, it savoured more of a court of inquisition, than of a legal way of proceeding. The canon-law was not yet rectified; so the King being in the Pope's room, this way, *ex officio*, was excused, as grounded upon the forms of the spiritual courts.

There was a discourse on foot of a marriage between the King and a daughter of France, which grieved the reformers, who rather wished him to marry Maximilian's daughter, who was believed to

1550.

favour the Reformation, and was esteemed one of the best men of the age. Old Latimer preached at Court, and warned the King of the ill effects of bad marriages, which were made up only as bargains, without affection between the parties; and that they occasioned so much whoring, and so many divorces: he also complained of the luxury and vanity of the age, and of many called Gospellers, who were concerned for nothing but abbey and chantry lands; he also pressed the setting up a primitive discipline in the Church. He preached this as his last sermon, and so used great freedom: he complained that the King's debts were not paid, and yet his officers grew vastly rich: he prayed the King not to seek his pleasures too much, and charged all about him to be faithful to him.

Latimer preaches at Court.

The see of Gloucester fell vacant, and Hooper was named to it: upon which the heats concerning things indifferent, that have since that time so fatally rent the Church, had their first rise. He had some scruples about the episcopal vestments, and thought that all those garments having been consecrated with much superstition, were to be reckoned among the elements condemned by St. Paul. But Ridley justified the use of them, and said, the elements condemned by St. Paul were only the Jewish ceremonies; which though the Apostles condemned, when they were imposed as necessary, (for that imported that the Mosaical Law was not yet abrogated, and that the Messiah was not come), yet they themselves used them at other times, to gain upon the Jews by that compliance. And if Apostles did such things to gain them, subjects ought much more to obey the laws in matters indifferent; and superstitious consecrations was as good an argument for throwing down all the churches, as for laying aside those habits. Cranmer desired Bucer's opinion concerning the lawfulness of those habits, and the obligation lying on subjects to obey the laws about them. His opinion was, that every creature of God was good, and that no former abuse could make a thing, indifferent in itself, become unlaw-

Hooper, made Bishop of Gloucester, his scruples concerning the vestments.

BOOK II. 1550.

ful: he thought ancient customs ought not to be lightly changed, and that there might be a good use made of those garments; that they might well express the purity and candour that became all who ministered in holy things; and that it was a sin to disobey the laws in such matters. Yet since those garments had been abused to superstition, and were like to become a subject of contention, he wished they might be taken away by law; and that ecclesiastical discipline and a more complete reformation might be set up; and that a stop might be put to the robbing of churches; otherwise they might see in the present state of Germany a dreadful prospect of that which England ought to look for. He also wrote to the same effect to Hooper, and wished that all good men would unite aginst the greater corruptions, and then lesser abuses would easily be redressed. Peter Martyr did also deliver his opinion to the same purpose, and was much troubled at Hooper's stiffness, and at such contests among the professors of true religion. Hooper was suspended from preaching; but the Earl of Warwick wrote to Cranmer to dispense with him in that matter. He answered, that while the law continued in force, he could not do it without incurring a *præmunire.* Upon that, the King wrote to him, allowing him to do it, and dispensing with the law; yet this matter was not settled till a year after. John à Lasco, with some Germans of the Helvetian confession, came this year into Egland, being driven out of Germany by the persecution there. They were erected by letters patents into a corporation, and à Lasco was their superintendant: he being a stranger, meddled too much in English affairs, and wrote both aginst the habits, and against kneeling in the Sacrament. Polidore Virgil was this year suffered to go out of England, and still to hold the preferments he had in it. Poinet was made Bishop of Rochester, and Coverdale coadjutor to Vesey in Exeter.

A review of the Com-

There was now a design set on foot for a review of the Common Prayer Book: in order to which,

Bucer's opinion was asked. He approved the main parts of the former book; he wished there might be not only a denunciation against scandalous persons that came to the Sacrament, but a discipline to exclude them: that the habits might be laid aside; that no part of the Communion office might be used, except when there was a Sacrament; that Communions might be more frequent; that the prayers might be said in a plain voice; that the Sacrament might be put in the people's hands; and that there might be no prayers for the dead which had not been used in Justin Martyr's time. He advised a change of some phrases in the Office of the Communion, that favoured transubstantiation too much; and that baptism might be only in churches: he thought the hallowing the water, the chrism, and the white garments, were too scenical; nor did he approve of abjuring the Devil, nor of the godfather's answering in the child's name: he thought confirmation should be delayed till the person was of age, and came sincerely to renew the baptismal covenant. He advised catechising every holiday, both of children and the adult; he disliked private marriages, extreme unction, and offering chrisoms at the churching of women; and thought there ought to be greater strictness used in the examining of those who came to receive orders.

mon Prayer Book.

Bucer offers some advices to the King.

At the same time he understood that the King expected a new-year's gift from him, of a book written particularly for his own use: so he made a book for him, concerning the kingdom of Christ. He pressed much the setting up a strict discipline, the sanctification of the Lord's day, the appointing many days of fasting, and that pluralities and nonresidence might be effectually condemned; that children might be catechised; that the reverence due to churches might be preserved; that the pastoral function might be restored to what it ought to be; that Bishop's might throw off secular affairs, and take care of their dioceses, and govern them by the advice of their Presbyters; that there might be

BOOK II.

1550.

rural Bishops over twenty or thirty parishes, and that provincial Councils might meet twice a year; that church lands should be restored, and that a fourth part might be assigned to the poor; that marriage without consent of parents should be annulled; that a second marriage might be declared lawful, after a divorce for adultery, and some other reasons; that care should be taken of the education of youth, and for repressing luxury; that the law might be reformed; that no office might be sold, but given to the most deserving; that none should be put in prison upon slight offences; and that the severity of some laws, as that which made theft capital, might be mitigated.

The King's great understanding.

The young King was much pleased with these advices; and, upon that, began himself to form a scheme for amending many things that were amiss in the government, which he wrote with his own hand, and in a style and manner that had much of a child in it, though the thoughts were manly: it appears by it, that he intended to set up a church-discipline, and settle a method for breeding of youth; but the discourse is not finished. He also wrote a journal of every thing that passed at home, and of the news that came from beyond sea. It has clear marks of his own composing, as well as it is written with his own hand. He wrote another discourse in French, being a collection of all the places of Scripture against idolatry, with a preface before it, dedicated to the Protector.

Altars put down.

At this time Ridley made his first visitation of his diocese; the articles upon which he proceeded were chiefly relating to the service and ceremonies that were abolished, whether any continued to use them or not; and whether there were any Anabaptists, or others, that used private conventicles. He also carried some injunctions with him against some remainders of the former superstition, and for exhorting the people to give alms, and to come often to the Sacrament; and that altars might be removed, and tables put in their room, in the most convenient place of the chancel. In the ancient Church their tables were of wood: but the Sacra-

ment being called a sacrifice, as prayers, alms, and all holy oblations were, they came to be called altars. This gave the rise to the opinion of expiatory sacrifices in the mass, and therefore it was thought fit to take away both the name and form of altars. Ridley only advised the Curates to do this; but upon some contests arising concerning it, the Council interposed, and required it to be done, and sent with their order a paper of reasons justifying it, shewing that a table was more proper than an altar; especially since the opinion of an expiatory sacrifice was supported by it. Sermons began to be preached in some churches on working days; this occasioned great running about, and idleness, and raised emulation among the Clergy; upon which, the Council ordered them all to be put down. Since that time there has been great contention concerning these; they were factiously kept up by some, and too violently suppressed by others: but now that matter is quieted, and they are in many places still continued, to the great edification of the people. The government was now free of all disturbance; the coin was reformed, and trade was encouraged. The faction in the Court seemed also to be extinguished, by a marriage between the Earl of Warwick's son and the Duke of Somerset's daughter. The Duke of Lunenburgh made a proposition of marriage with Lady Mary, but the treaty with the Infanta of Portugal did still depend, so it was not entertained.

BOOK II. 1550.

Affairs of Scotland.

In Scotland, the governor, now made Duke of Chastelherault in France, was wholly led by his base brother's counsels, who, though he was Archbishop of St. Andrew's, yet gave himself up, without any disguise, to his pleasures, and kept another man's wife avowedly: by such means were the people more easily disposed to hearken to the new teachers, and prepared for the changes that followed. The Queen-mother went to France, on design to procure the government of Scotland to be put in her hands.

BOOK II.

1550. Affairs of Germany.

A diet was called in Germany; the town of Magdeburgh was proscribed: but they published a manifesto, expressing their readiness to obey the Emperor according to law; and that they only stood to the defence of their liberties, without doing acts of hostility to others. It was now visible, that the design of the late war was to extinguish the Protestant religion, and to set up tyranny. It was better to obey God than man: and they were resolved to put all to hazard, rather than give up their religion. Tumults were raised in Strasburgh and other towns, when the mass was again set up; and all Germany were disposed to revolt, only they wanted a head. Severe edicts were also set out in Flanders; but the execution of them was stopped, at the intercession of the English in Antwerp, who were resolved otherwise to remove the trade to another place. The Emperor pressed the Diet to submit to the Council, when it should be brought back to Trent: but Maurice of Saxe, to whom all the Protestants joined, refused to do it, unless all their former decrees should be reviewed, and their Divines heard, and admitted to vote; and that the Pope would dispense with the oath which the Bishops sware to him: yet he so far insinuated himself into the Emperor's confidence, that he was made General of the empire for the reduction of Magdeburg, and resolved to manage that matter so as to draw great advantages from it. The Emperor reckoned that he might well trust him as long as he had John Duke of Saxe in his hands: but he had provoked him too much in the matter of the Landgrave of Hesse, his father-in-law, to repose such confidence in him; so that this proved a fatal error to him, by which he lost the power he had then in Germany; and Maurice proved too hard for him in dissimulation, in which he was so great a master.

The Popish Clergy comply generally.

The Popish Clergy in England did now generally comply to every change that was made. Oglethorp, afterwards Bishop of Carlisle, being informed against as favouring the old superstition,

did under his hand declare, that he thought the order of religion then settled was nearer the use of the primitive Church than that which was formerly received, and that he condemned transubstantiation as a late invention, and approved the communion in both kinds, and the people's receiving always with the priest. Smith, who had written against the marriage of the Clergy, and was upon some complaints put in prison, being discharged by Cranmer's intercession, wrote a submission to him, acknowledging the mistakes he had committed in his book, and the Archbishop's gentleness towards him; and wished he might perish if he did not write sincerely, and called God a witness against his soul if he lied. Day, Bishop of Chichester, did also preach a sermon at Court against transubstantiation. The principle, by which most of that party governed themselves, was this; they thought they ought to oppose all the changes, before they were established by law; yet that being done, that they might afterwards comply with them. Cranmer was a moderate and prudent man, and willing to accept of any thing they offered; reckoning, that whether they acted sincerely or not, yet their compliance would be a means to quiet the nation; he was also of so compassionate a nature, that he would never drive things to extremities against men that were grown old in their errors, and could not be easily weaned from them: only Gardiner and Bonner were such deceitful and cruel men, that he thought it might be more excusable to make stretches for ridding the Church of them.

Bucer's death.

Martin Bucer died in the beginning of this year of the stone, and griping of the guts. He had great apprehensions of a fatal revolution in England, by reason of the ill lives of the people, occasioned chiefly by the want of ecclesiastical discipline, and the neglect of the pastoral charge. Orders were sent from the Court to Cambridge, to bury him with all the public honour to his memory that could be devised. Speeches and sermons were made both by Haddon the University Orator, and

BOOK II. 1551.

Parker, and Redmayn. The last of these was one of the most extraordinary men, both for learning, and a true judgment of things, that was in that time: he had also in many things differed from Bucer, and yet he acknowledged, that there was none alive, of whom he hoped now to learn so much as he had done by his conversation with him. Bucer was inferior to none of all the Reformers in learning; but superior to most of them in an excellent temper of mind, and a great zeal for preserving the unity of the Church: a rare quality in that age, in which Melancthon and he were the most eminent. He had not that nimbleness of disputing, for which Peter Martyr was more admired; and the Popish Doctors took advantage from that to carry themselves more insolently towards him.

Gardiner's deprivation.

Soon after this, Gardiner's process was put to an end: a commission was issued out to Cranmer, and three Bishops, and some Civilians, to proceed against him, for his contempt, in refusing to sign the articles offered to him. He complained, that all that was done against him was out of malice; that he had been long imprisoned, and nothing was objected to him; that he was resolved to obey the laws and orders of Council, but that he would acknowledge no fault, not having committed any. The things objected to him were; that he refused to set out in his sermon the King's power when he was under age, and had affronted the preachers whom the King had sent to his diocese; that he had been negligent in executing the King's injunctions, and refused to confess his fault, or ask the King's pardon; and it was said that the rebellions raised in England might have been prevented, if he had timously set forth the King's authority. He answered, that he was not required to do it by any order of Council, but only in a private discourse; yet witnesses being examined upon those particulars, the delegates proceeded to sentence of deprivation against him, notwithstanding his appeal to the King in person; and he was appointed to remain in the Tower, where he continued till Queen

1551.

Mary discharged him. Nothing was pretended to excuse the severity of these proceedings, but that he having taken out a commission for holding his bishopric only during the King's pleasure, he could not complain when that was intimated to him; and if he had been turned out merely upon pleasure, without the pomp of a process, that matter might have been better excused. Poinet was put in his see, and had two thousand marks in lands assigned him for his subsistence. Story was put in Rochester; and upon Vesey's resignation, Coverdale was made Bishop of Exeter. The scruples that Hooper made were now so far satisfied, that he was content both to be consecrated in his vestments, and to use them when he preached before the King, or in his cathedral; but he was dispensed with upon other occasions.

The articles of religion agreed on.

By this time the greater number of the Bishops were men that heartily received the reformation: so it was resolved now to proceed to a settlement of the doctrine of the Church. Many thought that should have been done in the first place; but Cranmer judged it was better to proceed slowly in that matter: he thought the corruptions in the worship were to be begun with, since while they remained, the addresses to God were so defiled, that thereby all people were involved in unlawful compliances. He thought speculative opinions might come last, since errors in them were not of such ill consequence: and he judged it necessary to lay these open, in many treatises and disputes, before they should proceed to make alterations, that so all people might be beforehand satisfied with what should be done. So now they framed a body of articles, which contained the doctrine of the Church of England: they were cast into forty-two articles, and afterwards some few aterations being made in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, they were reduced to thirty-nine; which being in all people's hands, need not be much enlarged on.

In the ancient Church, there was at first a great simplicity in their Creeds; but afterwards, upon

BOOK II.

1551.

the breaking out of heresies concerning the person of Christ, equivocal senses being put on the terms formerly used, new ones, that could not be so easily eluded, were invented. A humour of explaining mysteries by similies and niceties, and of passing anathemas on all that did not receive these, did much over-run the Church; and though the Council of Ephesus decreed, that no new additions should be made to the Creed, yet that did not restrain those who loved to make all their own conceits be received as parts of the faith. The Fathers were carried too far with this curiosity; but the Schoolmen went farther, and spun the thread much finer; they condemned every thing that differed from their notions, as heretical. Many of the Lutherans had retained much of that peremptoriness, and were not easy to those to who differed from them. In England great care was taken to frame these articles in the most comprehensive words, and the greatest simplicity possible.

Changes made in the Common Prayer Book.

When this was settled, they went about the review of the Common Prayer Book. In the daily service, they added the Confession and Absolution, that so the worship of God might begin with a grave and humble confession, conceived in general words; but to which every one ought to join a secret confession of his particular sins: after which a solemn declaration of the mercy of God, according to the terms of the Gospel, was to be pronounced by the priest. This was thought much better than the giving absolution in such formal words, as, *I absolve thee;* which begat in the undiscerning vulgar an opinion that the priest had authority to pardon sin, and that made them think of nothing so much as how to purchase it at his hands: and it proved, as it was managed, the greatest engine that ever was for overthrowing the power of religion. In the Communion service they ordered a recital of the Commandments, with a short devotion between every one of them, judging that, till church-discipline were restored, nothing could more effectually awaken such as came to receive it to a due serious-

BOOK II.

1551.

ness in it, than the hearing the law of God thus pronounced, with those stops in it, to make the people reflect on their offences against it. The chrism, the use of the cross in consecrating the Eucharist, prayers for the dead, and some expressions that favoured transubstantiation, were laid aside; and the book was put in the same order and method in which it continues to this day, excepting only some inconsiderable variations that have been made since. A rubric was added to the Office of the Communion, explaining the reason of kneeling in it, that it was only an expression of due reverence and gratitude, upon the receiving so particular a mark of the favour of God; but that no adoration was intended by it, and that they did not think Christ was corporally present in it. In Queen Elizabeth's time this was left out; that such as conformed in other things, but still retained the belief of the corporal presence, might not be offended at such a declaration. It was again put in the book, upon his present Majesty's restoration, for removing the scruples of those who excepted to that posture. Christ did at first institute this Sacrament in the ordinary table-gesture. Moses appointed the Pascal-Lamb to be eaten by the people standing, with staves in their hands, they being then to begin their march; yet that was afterwards changed by the Jews, who did eat it in the posture common at meals, which our Saviour's practice justifies: so though Christ in his state of humiliation did institute this ordinance in so familiar a posture, yet it was thought more becoming the reverence due to him in his exaltation, to celebrate it with greater expressions of humility and devotion. The ancient Christians received it standing, and bowing their body downward: kneeling was afterwards used as a higher expression of devout worship: but great difference is to be made between the adoration practised in the Church of Rome, in which, upon lifting up the host, all fall down and worship, and our being, during the whole action, in one continued posture of devotion. And if the Jews, who

King Charles the Second.

BOOK II.

1551.

were more bound up to ceremonies, made a change in the posture, at the memorial of their deliverance, without any warrant mentioned in the Old Testament, it must be acknowledged, that the Christian Church, which is more at liberty in such matters, had authority to make the like change of the posture, in this memorial of Christ's sufferings. At this time six of the most eminent preachers were appointed to wait on the Court by turns, two at a time; and the other four were sent as itinerant preachers into all the counties of England, in a circuit, for supplying the defects of the Clergy, who were generally very weak and faulty.

Lady Mary in trouble for having mass said.

The mass said in Lady Mary's chapel was now again challenged. The Court was less afraid of the Emperor's displeasure than formerly, and so would no longer bear with so public a breach of law: and the promise they had made being but temporary, and never given in writing, they thought they were not bound by it. But the Emperor assured her, that he had an absolute promise for that privilege to her. This encouraged her so much, that when the Council wrote to her, she said, she would follow the Catholic Church, and adhere to her father's religion. Answer was writ in the King's name, requiring her to obey the law, and not to pretend that the King was under age, since the late rebels had justified themselves by that. The way of worship then established was also vindicated, as most consonant to the Word of God. But she refused to engage into any disputes, only she said she would continue in her former courses, and she was thinking of going out of England, insomuch that the Emperor ordered a ship to lie near the coast for her transportation: which was strange advice; for it is probable, if she had gone beyond sea, she had been effectually shut out from succeeding to the crown. The Emperor espoused her quarrel so warmly, that he threatened to make war if she should be hardly used; and the merchants having then great effects at Antwerp, it was not thought fit to give him a colour for breaking with them, and

seizing on these; so the Counsel were willing to let the matter fall, and only advised her to have her mass privately said: yet the young King could not be easily induced to yield to that, for he said, *he ought not to connive at idolatry.* The Council ordered Cranmer, Ridley, and Poinet, to satisfy him in it: and they convinced him, that though he ought not to consent to any sin, yet he was not at all times obliged to punish it. He burst out in weeping, lamenting his sister's obstinacy, and his own circumstances, that obliged him to comply with such an impious way of worship. Dr. Wotton was sent over to the Emperor, to convince him that no absolute promise was ever made: for Paget and Hobbey, whom the Emperor vouched for it, declared upon oath, that they made not any but what was temporary; and since the King did not meddle in the concerns of the Emperor's family, it was not reasonable for him to interpose in this. The Emperor pretended, that he had promised to her mother at her death to protect her, and so he was bound in honour to take care of her. But now when the Council were not in such fear of the Emperor's displeasure as formerly, they sent to seize on two of her chaplains, that had said mass in her house when she was absent: they kept out of the way, and she wrote to the Council to stop the prosecution, and continued to stand upon the promise made to the Emperor. A long answer was returned to her by the Counsel, in which, after the matter of the promise was cleared, they urged her with the absurdity of prayers in an unknown tongue, offering the Sacrament for the dead, and worshipping images. All the ancients appealed upon all occasions to the Scriptures; by these she might easily discover the errors and cheats of the old superstition, that were supported only by false miracles and lying stories. They concluded, that they being trusted with the execution of the laws, were obliged to proceed equally. Mallet, one of the chaplains, was taken, and she earnestly desired that he might be set at liberty; but it was denied her. The

BOOK II.

1551.

BOOK II.

1551.

Council sent for the chief officers of her house, and required them to let her know the King's pleasure, that she must have the new service in her family; and to give the like charge to her chaplains and servants. This vexed her much, and did almost cast her into sickness: she said, she would obey the King in every thing in which her conscience was not touched; but charged them not to deliver the Council's message to her servants. Upon that, the Lord Chancellor Petre and Wingfield were sent with the same orders to her; and carried to her a letter from the King, which she received on her knees; but when she read it, she cast the blame of it on Cecil, then Secretary of State. The Chancellor told her, the whole Council were of one mind, that they could not suffer her to use a form of worship against law, and had ordered them to intimate this both to herself and her family. She made great protestations of duty to the King; but said, she would die rather than use any form of worship but that which was left by her father, only she was afraid she was not worthy to suffer on so good an account. When the King was of age, she would obey his commands in religion; and though he now knew many things above his age, yet as they did not think him yet capable of matters of war or policy, so much less could he judge in points of divinity. If her chaplains refused to say mass, she could have none; but for the new service, she was resolved against it; and if it were forced on her, she would leave her house. She desired her officers might be sent back to her, whom they had put in the Tower, for not intimating the Council's order to her servants; which had been strange for them to have done when she forbid it. She charged them to use her well for her father's sake, who had raised them all out of nothing; she was sick by reason of their ill usage; and if she died, she would lay it at their door. She insisted on the promise made to the Emperor, who wrote of it to her, and she believed him more than them all: she gave them a token to be carried to the King, and so dismissed

BOOK II.

1551.

them: When they had laid a charge on her chaplains and servants to the same effect, and were going away, she called after them, and desired they would send her comptroller to her; for she was weary of receiving her accounts, and examining how many loaves were made of a bushel of meal. Upon this resolution that she expressed, the Council went no further; only after this, her mass was said so secretly, that she gave no public scandal. From Copthall, where this was done, she removed, and lived at Hunsden, and thither Ridley went to see her. She received him very civilly, and ordered her officers to entertain him at dinner: but when he begged leave to preach before her, she at first blushed; but being further pressed, she said he might preach in the parish-church, but neither she nor her family would be there. He asked her, if she refused to hear the Word of God? She answered, they did not call that God's Word now, that they had called so in her father's days: and that in his time they durst not have said the things which they then preached. And after some sharp and reproachful discourse, she dismissed him. Wharton, one of her officers, as he conducted him out, made him drink a little; but he reflecting on that, blamed himself for it; for he said, when the Word of God was rejected, he ought to have shaken off the dust of his feet, and gone away. The King's sister Elizabeth did in all things conform to the laws; for her mother at her death recommended her to Dr. Parker's care, who instructed her well in the principles of the Christian religion.

The Earl of Warwick's designs.

The Earl of Warwick began now to form great designs of bringing the crown into his family: the King was alienated from his sister Mary, and the Privy Council had embroiled themselves with her, and so would be easily engaged against her. The pretence against both the sisters was the same, that they stood illegitimated by two sentences in the spiritual courts, confirmed in Parliament. So that it would be a disgrace to the nation to let the crown

BOOK II.

1551.

devolve on bastards: and since the fears of the eldest's revenge made the Council willing to exclude her, the only reason on which they could ground that must take place against the second likewise. And therefore though the crown was provided to them both by act of Parliament and the late King's will, yet these being founded on an error that was indispensable, which was the baseness of their descent, they ought not to take place. They being laid aside, the daughters of the French Queen, by Charles Brandon, stood next in the act, and yet it was generally believed that they were bastards: for it was given out that Brandon was secretly married to one Mortimer, at the time that he married the French Queen, and that Mortimer outlived her; so that the issue by her was illegitimate. The sweating sickness did this year break out in England with such contagion, that eight hundred died in one week of it in London; those that were taken with it were inclined much to sleep, and all that slept died; but if they were kept awake a day, they did sweat it out. Charles Brandon's two sons by his last wife died within a day one of another. His eldest daughter, by the French Queen, was married to the Marquis of Dorset, a good but weak man, and so he was made Duke of Suffolk: they had no sons; their eldest daughter Jane Grey was thought the wonder of the age. So the Earl of Warwick projected a match between her and his fourth son Guilford, his three elder sons being then married: and because the Lady Elizabeth was like to stand most in the way, care was taken to send her out of England, and a match was treated for her with the King of Denmark.

A treaty for a marriage to the King.

A splendid message was sent to France, with the order of the Garter. The Marquis of Northampton carried it; three Earls, the Bishop of Ely, and five Lords, were sent with him, and above two hundred gentlemen accompanied them. They were to make a proposition of marriage for the King with a daughter of France. The Bishop of Ely made the first speech, and the Cardinal of Lorrain answered

BOOK II.

1551.

him. It was soon agreed on, yet neither party was to be bound, either in honour or conscience, till the lady should be of years to give consent. A noble embassy was sent in return from France to England, with the order of St. Michael. They desired in their master's name the continuance of the King's friendship, and that he would not be moved by rumours that might be raised to break their alliance. The young King answered on the sudden, "That rumours were not always to be "believed, nor always to be rejected; for it was no "less vain to fear all things, than to doubt of no-"thing: if any differences happened to arise, he "should be always ready to determine them rather "by reason than by force, so far as his honour "should not be thereby diminished." This was thought a very extraordinary answer to be made by one of fourteen on the sudden.

The Duke of Somerset's fall.

There was at this time a great creation of Peers. Warwick was made Duke of Northumberland, the blood of the Percies being then under an attainder; Paulet was made Marquis of Winchester; Herbert was made Earl of Pembroke; and a little before this, Russel had been made Earl of Bedford, and Darcy was made a Lord. There was none so likely to take the King out of Northumberland's hands as the Duke of Somerset, who was beginning to form a new party about the King: so upon some informations, both the Duke of Somerset and his Duchess, Sir Ralph Vane, Sir Thomas Palmer, Sir Thomas Arundel, and several others, of whom some were gentlemen of quality, and others were the Duke's servants, were all committed to the Tower. The committing of Palmer was to delude the world, for he had betrayed the Duke, and was clapped up as a complice, and then pretended to discover a plot: he said the Duke intended to have raised the people, and that Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, having been invited to dine at the Lord Paget's, he intended to have set on them by the way, or have killed them at dinner; that Vane was to have two thousand men ready;

BOOK II. 1551.

Arundel was to have seized on the Tower, and all the gendarmerie were to have been killed. All these things were told the young King with such circumstances, that he too easily believed them, and so was much alienated from his uncle, judging him guilty of so foul a conspiracy. It was added by others, that the Duke intended to have raised the city of London; one Crane confirmed Palmer's testimony, and both the Earl of Arundel and Paget were also committed as complices. On the first of December the Duke was brought to his trial: the Marquis of Winchester was Lord Steward, and twenty-seven Peers sat to judge him, among whom were the Dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland, and the Earl of Pembroke. The particulars charged on him were, a design to seize on the King's person, to imprison the Duke of Northumberland, and to raise the city of London. It seemed strange to see Northumberland sit a judge, when the crime objected was a design against his life; for though by the law of England no Peer can be challenged, yet by the law of nature no man can well judge where he is a party. The Chancellor, though a Peer, was left out, upon suspicion of a reconciliation which he was making with the Duke: he was not well skilled in law, and neither objected to the indictment, nor desired counsel to plead for him, but only answered to matters of fact: he denied all designs to raise the people, or to kill Northumberland: if he had talked of it, it was in passion, without any intention; and it was ridiculous to think, that he with a small troop could destroy the gendarmerie, who were nine hundred. The armed men he had about him were only for his own defence; he had done no mischief to his enemies, though it was once in his power to have done it; and he had surrendered himself without making any resistance: he desired the witnesses might be brought face to face, and objected many things to them, chiefly to Palmer; but that was not done, and their depositions were only read. The King's counsel pleaded upon the statute against unlawful

His trial.

assemblies, that to contrive the death of Privy Counsellors was felony; and to have men about him for his defence was also felony. The material defence was omitted; for by that statute those assemblies were not felonious, except being required to disperse themselves, they had refused to do it; and it does not appear that any such proclamation had been made in this case. The proofs of his raising rebellion were insufficient, so he was acquitted of treason, which raised a great shout of joy, that was heard as far as Charing-cross; but he was found guilty of felony, for intending to imprison Northumberland. He carried himself, during the trial, with great temper; and all the sharpness, which the King's counsel expressed in pleading against him, did not provoke him to any indecent passion. But when sentence was given, he sunk a little, and asked the three lords, that were his enemies, pardon for his ill designs against them, and made suit for his life, and for his wife and children. It was generally thought, that nothing being found against him but an intention to imprison a Privy Counsellor, that never took effect, one so nearly related to the King would not have been put to death on that account. It was therefore necessary to raise in the King a great aversion to him: so a story was brought to the King, as if in the Tower he had confessed a design to employ some to assassinate those Lords; and the persons named for that wicked service were also persuaded to take it on them. This being believed by the King, he took no more care to preserve him: assassination being a crime of so barbarous a nature, that it possessed him with a horror, even to his uncle, when he thought him guilty of it: and therefore he was given up to his enemies' rage. Stanhope, Partridge, Arundel, and Vane, were tried next; the two first were not much pitied, for they had made a very ill use of their interest in the Duke during his greatness: the other two were much lamented. Arundel's jury was shut up a whole day and a night, and those that were for the

BOOK II. 1551.

acquittal yielded to the fury of the rest, only that they might save their own lives, and not be starved. Vane had done great services in the wars, and carried himself with a magnanimity that was thought too extravagant: they were all condemned, and Partridge and he were hanged, the other two were beheaded.

Rich gives up the Great Seal, and it was given to the Bishop of Ely.

The Lord Chancellor was become a secret friend to the Duke of Somerset, and that was thus discovered: he went aside once at Council, and wrote a note, giving the Duke notice of what was then in agitation against him, and endorsed it only *for the Duke*, and sent it to the Tower; but his servant not having particular directions, fancied it was to the Duke of Norfolk, and not to Somerset, and carried it to him. He, to make Northumberland his friend, sent this to him: Rich understanding the mistake in which his servant had fallen, prevented the discovery, and went immediately to the King, and, pretending some indisposition, desired to be discharged; and upon that took his bed; so it seemed too barbarous to do any thing further against him; only the Great Seal was taken from him, and was put in the Bishop of Ely's hands. This was much censured; for all the Reformers had inveighed severely against the secular employments and high places which Bishops had in the Church of Rome; since by these they were taken wholly off from the care of souls, or those spiritual exercises that might dispose them for it, and assumed only the name and garb of Churchmen, to serve their ambition and covetousness, and by this the people were much prejudiced against them; so upon Goodrick's advancement, this was turned against the Reformers: it was said, they only complained of those things when their enemies enjoyed them, but changed their minds as soon as they fell into the hands of their friends. But Goodrick was no pattern; he complied only with the Reformation, but turned when Queen Mary succeeded. Christ said, *Who made me a judge?* St. Paul left it as a rule, *that no man that warreth, entangleth him-*

BOOK II.

1551.

self with the affairs of this life. This Saint Cyprian and the other Fathers understood as a perpetual prohibition of Churchmen's meddling with secular matters, and condemned it severely. Many Canons were made against it in provincial Councils, and a very full one was decreed at Chalcedon: but as the Bishops of Rome and Alexandria grew rich and powerful, they established a sort of secular principality in the Church; and other sees, as they increased in wealth, affected to imitate them. Charles the Great encouraged this every where, and gave great territories and privileges to the Church; upon which the Bishops and Abbots were not only admitted to a share in the public counsels by virtue of their lands, but to all the chief offices of the State; and then ecclesiastical preferments were given to courtiers, as rewards for their services: and by these means the Clergy became very corrupt; merit and learning being no more the standards by which men were esteemed or promoted; and Bishops were only considered as a sort of great men, who went in a peculiar habit, and on great festivities were obliged to say mass, or perform some other solemnities; but they wholly abandoned the souls committed to their care, and left the spiritual part of their callings to their Vicars and Archdeacons, who made no other use of it but to squeeze the inferior Clergy, and to oppress the people: and it was not easy to persuade the world, that those Bishops did much aspire to heaven, who were so indecently thrusting themselves into the courts of Princes, and meddling so much in matters that did not belong to them, that they neglected those for which they were to account to God.

The Duke of Somerset's execution.

On the 22d day of January, the Duke of Somerset was executed at Tower-hill: the substance of his speech was a vindication of himself "from all "ill designs; he confessed his private sins, and "acknowledged the mercies of God in granting "him time to repent: he declared that he had "acted sincerely in all he did in matters of religion "while he was in power; and rejoiced for his being

BOOK II.

1551.

"instrumental in so good a work: he exhorted "the people to live suitably to the doctrine re-"ceived among them, otherwise they might look "for great judgments from God." As he was going on, there was an unaccountable noise heard, which so frighted the people, that many run away. Sir Anthony Brown came up riding towards the scaffold, which made the spectators think that he brought a pardon, and this occasioned great shouts of joy; but they soon saw their mistake; so the Duke went on in his speech: "he declared his "cheerful submission to the will of God, and de-"sired them likewise to acquiesce in it: he prayed "for the King and his Council, and exhorted the "people to continue obedient to them; and asked "the forgiveness of all whom at any time he had "offended." Then he turned to his private devo-tions, and fitted himself for the blow, which, upon the signal given, severed his head from his body.

He was a man of extraordinary virtues, of great candour, and eminent piety: he was always a pro-moter of justice, and a patron of the oppressed. He was a better captain than a counsellor, and was too easy and open-hearted, to be so cautious as such times and such employments required. It was generally believed, all this conspiracy, for which he and the other four suffered, was only a forgery: all the other complices were quickly dis-charged, and Palmer, the chief witness, became Northumberland's particular confident: and the indiscreet words which the Duke of Somerset had spoken, and his gathering armed men about him, was imputed to Palmer's artifices, who had put him in fear of his life, and so made him do and say those things for which he lost it. His four friends did all end their lives with the most solemn protes-tations of their innocence; and the whole matter was looked on as a contrivance of Northumber-land's, by which he lost the affections of the people entirely. Some reflected on the attainder of the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earl of Surry's death, occasioned likewise by a conspiracy of their own

BOOK II. 1551.

servants, in which it was thought this Duke was too active. He was also much censured for his brother's death. He had raised much of his estate out of the spoils of Bishops' lands, and his palace out of the ruins of some churches; and to this some added a remark, that he did not claim the benefit of his Clergy, which would have saved him; and since he had so spoiled the Church, they imputed it to a particular judgment on him, that he forgat it. But in this they were mistaken; for in the act by which he was condemned, it was provided, that no Clergy should purge that felony.

The affairs of Germany.

In Germany, Maurice began this year to form a great design: he entered into correspondences not only with the Princes of Germany, but also with France and England; and having given intimations of his designs for the liberty of Germany, and the security of the Protestant religion, to some that had great credit at Magdeburg, he brought that town to a surrender, and having made himself sure of the army, he quartered his troops in the territories of the Popish Princes; by which they were all much alarmed, only the Emperor did not apprehend the danger till it was too late for him. A quarrel fell in between the Pope and the King of France about Parma: the Pope threatened, if that King would not restore Parma, he would take France from him. Upon that, the Council being now again open at Trent, the King of France protested against it, and declared that he would call a national Council in France, and would not obey nor receive their decrees. The Emperor still pressed the Germans to send ambassadors and divines to Trent. The Council began with the points about the Eucharist, and it was ordered that these should be handled according to the Scriptures and ancient authors. The Italians did not like this, and said the bringing many quotations was only an act of memory, and that way would give the Lutherans great advantages: the sublime speculations of the Schools, together with their terms, were much safer weapons to deal with. A safe conduct was de-

BOOK II.

1551.

manded from the Council, for the Emperor's conduct was not thought sufficient; since at Constance, John Huss and Jerome of Prague were burned, though they had the Emperor's safe conduct. The Council of Basil had granted a very full one to the Bohemians, so the Lutherans demanded one in the same form; but though one was granted, yet it was in many things short of that. The Elector of Brandenburgh sent an ambassador to Trent, who made a general speech of the respect his master had for them. The legates answered, and thanked him for submitting to their decrees, of which the ambassador had not said a word; but when he expostulated about it, the legates said, they answered him according to that he ought to have said, and not to that he did say. The Council decreed the manner of Christ's presence to be ineffable; and yet added, that transubstantiation was a fit term for it; for that was a notion as unconceivable as any that could be thought on. Then they decreed the necessity of auricular confession, that thereby priests might keep a proportion between penances and sins, which was thought a mockery; for the trade of slight penances, and easy absolutions for the greatest sins, shewed there was no care taken to adjust the one to the other. The ambassador of the Duke of Wirtemburg came, and moved for a safe conduct to their divines to come and maintain their doctrine. The legates answered, they would enter into no disputes with them; but if they came with an humble mind, and proposed their scruples, they would satisfy them. Ambassadors from some towns arrived at Trent, and those sent by the Duke of Saxe were on their way; upon which, the Emperor ordered his agents to gain time, and hinder the Council to proceed in their decisions till those were heard; but all he could prevail in was, that the article concerning the communion in both kinds was postponed till they should come.

1552. A session of Parliament.

The day after the Duke of Somerset's execution, a session of Parliament was assembled. The first act they passed was about the Common Prayer

Book, as it was now amended: to it only one Earl, two Bishops, and two Lords dissented. The book was appointed to be every where received after Allhallows next. The Bishops were required to proceed by the censures of the Church against such as came not to it: they also authorized the Book of Ordinations, and enacted the same penalties agains offenders, that were in the act for the former book three years before. The Papists took occasion, on the changes now made in the book, to say, that the new doctrines and ways of worship changed as fast as the fashions did. It was answered, that it was no wonder if corruptions, which had been creeping in for a thousand years, were not all discovered and thrown out at once; and since they had been every age making additions of new ceremonies, it might be excused, if the purging them out was done by such easy degrees. The book was not to be received till Allhallows, because it was hoped between that and then the reformation of the ecclesiastical laws would have been finished. A bill concerning treasons passed with only one dissent: it was much opposed in the House of Commons; for the multiplying of treasons is always looked on as a severity in the government. One bill was rejected, but another was agreed on: "If any called the King, or his successors, named in the statute of 35 Hen. VIII. heretic, tyrant, or other opprobrious words, he was for the first offence to be punished with a forfeiture of goods and chattels, for the second with a *præmunire*, and the third offence was made treason: but if it was done in printing or writing, the first offence was treason. None were to be prosecuted for words but within three months: and two witnesses were made necessary, who should aver their depositions to the party's face." This seems to relate to the proceedings against the Duke of Somerset, in which the witnesses did not appear, so that he lost the advantage of cross examining them: and many times innocence and guilt discover themselves, when the

BOOK II.

1552.

BOOK II.

1552.

parties are confronted. Another law passed for holidays and fasts. "No days were to be esteemed "holy in their own nature, but by reason of those "holy duties which ought to be done in them, for "which they were dedicated to the service of God. "Days were esteemed to be dedicated only to the "honour of God, even those in which the saints "were commemorated. Sundays and the other "holidays were to be religiously observed, and the "Bishops were to proceed to censures against "offenders, only labourers or fishermen, in case of "necessity, might work on them: the eves before "them were to be fasts, and abstinence from flesh "was enacted both in Lent and on Fridays and "Saturdays." This liberty to tradesmen to work on these days was abused to a public profanation of them; but the stricter clauses in the act were little regarded. An act passed, empowering Church-wardens to gather collections for the poor, and the Bishops to proceed against such as refused to contribute; which, though it was a bill that taxed the people, yet had its first rise in the House of Lords. A bill was passed by the Lords, but rejected by the Commons, for securing the Clergy from falling under the lash of a *præmunire* by ignorance; and that they ought to be first prohibited by the King's writ, and not to be sued, unless they continued, after that, stiff in their disobedience. An act passed for the marriage of the Clergy; four Earls and six Lords dissenting from it: "That whereas "the former act about it was thought only a per- "mission of it, as some other unlawful things were "connived at; upon which the wives and children "of the Clergy were reproachfully used, and the "Word of God was not heard with due reverence; "therefore their marriages were declared good and "valid." The Marquis of Northampton procured an act, confirming his second marriage; and that occasioned another to be proposed in the House of Lords, that no man might put away his wife, and marry another, unless he were first divorced: but it was laid aside by the Commons. The bishopric

of Westminster was reunited to London, only the collegiate church was still continued. BOOK II.

An act passed concerning usury, repealing a law made 37 Hen. VIII. "That none might take above "20 *per cent.* All usury, or profit for money lent, "was condemned, as contrary to the Word of "God, and transgressors were to be imprisoned, "and fined at pleasure." This has been since that time repealed, and several regulations have been made of the gain by lent money, which is now reduced to 6 *per cent.* The prohibitions of usury by Moses have been thought moral; others have believed that they were founded only on an equal division of the land: and since it was then lawful to take usury of a stranger, they have inferred that the law was not moral, otherwise it must be of perpetual obligation: it was also a great incitement to industry not to lend upon profit, and it made every man lay out his money in some way of advantage; and their neighbourhood to Tyre and Sidon gave them a quick vent of their manufacture, without which it is not easy to imagine how such vast numbers could have lived in so narrow a country: so that these laws seemed to be only judiciary. It was thought at first suitable to the brotherly-kindness that ought to be among Christians to lend without gain; but at last canons were made against taking usury, and it was put among the reserved cases. Mortgages were an invention to avoid that, for the use was paid as the rent of the land mortgaged, and not of the money lent. Inventions also were found for those who had no land to mortgage, to make such bargains that gain was made of the money, and yet not in the way of usury. These were tricks only to deceive people; and it is not easy to shew how the making such a gain as holds proportion to the value of land is immoral in itself; if the rule settled by law is not exceeded, and men deal not unmercifully with those, who by inevitable accidents are disabled from making payment. Another bill was passed against simony, the reserving pensions out of benefices,

1552. An act against usury.

BOOK II.

1552.

and granting advowsons while the incumbent was yet alive; but it had not the royal assent. Simony has been oft complained of, and many laws and canons have been made against it; but new contrivances are still found out to elude them all; and it is a disease that will still hang on the Church, as long as covetousness and ambition ferment so strongly in the minds of Churchmen.

A repeal of the settlement of the Duke of Somerset's estate.

A bill was sent to the House of Commons, signed by the King, repealing the settlement of the Duke of Somerset's estate, 28 Hen. VIII. made in favour of his children by his second wife, to exclude the children by his first, of whom are descended the Seymours of Devonshire; which some imputed to a jealousy he had of his first wife, and others ascribed it to the power his second wife had over him. But the Commons were very unwilling to void a settlement confirmed in Parliament, and so for fifteen days it was debated: a new bill was devised, and that was much altered, and the bill was not finished till the day before the dissolution of the Parliament. The Lords added a proviso, confirming the Duke of Somerset's attainder; but that was cast out by the Commons. Some writings had been sealed with relation to a marriage between the Earl of Hertford, the Duke's son, and the Earl of Oxford's daughter; and the Lords sent down a bill voiding these: but upon a division in the House of Commons, sixty-eight were for it, and sixty-nine were against it; so it was cast out. The House was now thin, when we find but one hundred and thirty-seven members in it: but that is one of the effects of a long Parliament: many grow infirm, and many keep out of the way on design; and those who at their election were the representatives of the people, after they have sat long, become a cabal of men, that pursue their own interests more than the public service.

Tonstall is imprisoned.

Tonstall Bishop of Durham, upon some informations, was put in prison in the former year. The Duke of Northumberland intended to erect a great principality for his family in the North; and the accession of the jurisdiction

of the county palatine, which is in that see, seemed so considerable, that he resolved to ruin Tonstall, and so make way for that. He complied in all the changes that were made, though he had protested against them in Parliament; he wrote also for the corporal presence, but with more eloquence than learning: he was a candid and moderate man, and there was always a good correspondence between Cranmer and him. And now when the bill was put in against him, he opposed it, and protested against it, by which he absolutely lost the Duke of Northumberland: but all the Popish complying Bishops went along with it. There were some depositions read in the House of Lords to justify it; but when the bill with these was sent down to the House of Commons, they resolved to put a stop to that way of condemning men without hearing them: so they sent a message to the Lords, that he and his accusers might be heard face to face; and that not being done, they let the bill fall. By these indications, it appeared that the House of Commons had little kindness for the Duke of Northumberland. Many of them had been much obliged to the Duke of Somerset: so it was resolved to have a new Parliament; and this, which had sat almost five years, was on the 15th of April dissolved.

A reformation of ecclesiastical laws prepared.

The Convocation did confirm the articles of religion that had been prepared the former year; and thus was the reformation of worship and doctrine now brought to such perfection, that since that time there has been very little alteration made in these. But another branch of it was yet unfinished, and was now under consultation, touching the government of the Church, and the rules of the ecclesiastical courts. Two acts had passed in the former reign, and one in this, empowering thirty-two to revise all the laws of the Church, and digest them into a body. King Henry issued out a commission, and the persons were named, who made some progress in it, as appears by some of Cranmer's letters to him. In this reign it had been begun several times; but the changes in the government made it be laid

BOOK II. 1552.

aside. Thirty-two were found to be too many for preparing the first draught, so eight were appointed to make it ready for them: these were Cranmer and Ridley, Cox and Peter Martyr, Traheron and Taylor, and Lucas and Gosnold; two Bishops, two Divines, two Civilians, and two common Lawyers; but it was generally believed, that Cranmer drew it all himself, and the rest only corrected what he designed. Haddon and Cheek were employed to put it in Latin, in which they succeeded so well, and arrived at so true a purity in the Roman style, that it looks like a work of the best ages of that state, before their language was corrupted with the mixture of barbarous terms and phrases, with which all the later writings were filled; but none were more nauseously rude than the books of the canon law. The work was cast into fifty-one titles; perhaps it was designed to bring it near the number of the books, into which Justinian digested the Roman law. The eight finished it, and offered it to the thirty-two, who divided themselves into four classes; every one was to offer his corrections, and when it had passed through them all, it was to be offered to the King for his confirmation; but the King died before it was quite finished, nor was it ever afterwards taken up: yet I shall think it no useless part of this work, to give an account of what was intended to be done in this matter, as well as I relate what was done in other things.

The heads of it.

The first title of it was concerning the Catholic faith: it was made capital to deny the Christian religion. The books of Scripture were reckoned up, and the Apocrypha left out. The four first General Councils were received, but both Councils and Fathers were to be submitted to, only as they agreed with the Scriptures. The second enumerates and condemns many heresies, extracted out of the opinions of the Church of Rome, and the tenets of the Anabaptists: and among others, those who excused their lives, by the pretence of predestination, are reckoned up. 3. The judgment of heresy was to lie in the Bishops' court, except in exempted

places. Persons suspected might be required to purge themselves; and those who were convicted were to abjure and do penance; but such as were obstinate were declared infamous, and not to have the benefit of the law, or of making testaments; and so all capital proceedings for heresy were laid aside. 4. Blasphemy against God was to be punished as obstinate heresy. 5. The sacraments, and other parts of the pastoral charge, were to be decently performed. 6. All magic, idolatry, or conjuring, was to be punished arbitrarily, and, in case of obstinacy, with excommunication. 7. Bishops were appointed once a year to call all their Clergy together, to examine them concerning their flocks; and itinerant preachers were to be often employed for visiting such precincts as might be put under their care. 8. All marriages were to be after asking of banns, and to be annulled, if not done according to the Book of Common Prayer. Corrupters of virgins were to marry them; or if that could not be done, to give them the third part of their goods, and suffer corporal punishment. Marriages made by force, or without consent of parents, were declared null. Polygamy was forbid, and mothers were required to suckle their children. 9. The degrees of marriage were settled according to the Levitical law, but spiritual kindred was to be no bar. 10. A Clergyman guilty of adultery was to forfeit his goods and estate to his wife and children, or to some pious use, and to be banished or imprisoned during life: a layman guilty of it was to forfeit the half, and to be banished or imprisoned during life: wives that were guilty were to be punished in the same manner. The innocent party might marry again after a divorce. Desertion, or mortal enmity, or the constant perverseness of a husband, might induce a divorce; but little quarrels nor a perpetual disease might not do it; and the separation from bed and board, except during a trial, was never to be allowed. 11. Patrons were charged to give presentations without making bargains; to choose the

BOOK II.

1552.

BOOK II.

1552.

fittest persons, and not to make promises till the livings were vacant. The Bishops were required to use great strictness in the trial of those whom they ordained. All pluralities and non-residence were condemned, and all that were presented were to purge themselves of simony by oath. The twelfth and thirteenth were concerning the changing of benefices. The fourteenth was concerning the manner of purgation upon common fame: all superstitious purgations were condemned. Others followed, about dilapidations, elections, or collations. The nineteenth was concerning divine offices. The Communion was ordered to be every Sunday in cathedrals, and a sermon was to be in them in the afternoon. Such as received the Sacrament were to give notice to the minister the day before, that he might examine their consciences. The Catechism was appointed to be explained for an hour in the afternoon on holidays. After the Evening Prayer, the poor were to be taken care of, penances were to be enjoined to scandalous persons, and the minister was to confer with some of the ancients of the people concerning the state of the parish, that admonitions and censures might be applied, as there was occasion given. The twentieth was concerning other church-officers. A rural Dean was to be in every precinct, to watch over the Clergy, according to the Bishop's directions: Archdeacons were to be over them, and the Bishop over all; who was to have yearly synods, and visit every third year. His family was to consist of Clergymen, in imitation of St. Austin, and other ancient Bishops; these he was to train up for the service of the Church. When Bishops became infirm, they were to have coadjutors: Archbishops were to do the episcopal duties in their diocese, and to visit their province. Every synod was to begin with a communion; and after that, the ministers were to give an account of their parishes, and follow such directions as the Bishop should give them. Other heads followed concerning churchwardens, tithes, universities, visitations, and several sorts of censures. In the

thirtieth, a large scheme was drawn of excommunication, which was entrusted to churchmen, for keeping the church pure, and was not to be inflicted, but for obstinacy in some gross fault. All causes upon which it was pronounced were to be examined before the minister of the parish, a justice of the peace, and some other churchmen. It was to be pronounced and intimated with great seriousness, and all were to be warned not to keep company with the person censured, under the like pains, except those of his own family. Upon his continuing forty days obstinate under it, a writ was to be issued out for commitment, till the sentence should be taken off. Such as had the King's pardon for capital offences were yet liable to church-censures. Then followed the office of absolving penitents. They were to come to the church-door, and crave admittance; and the minister having brought them in, was to read a long discourse concerning sin, repentance, and the mercies of God. Then the party was to confess his sin, and to ask God and the congregation pardon; upon which the minister was to lay his hands on his head, and to pronounce the absolution. Then a thankgiving was to be offered to God, at the communion-table, for the reclaiming that sinner. The other heads of this work relate to the other parts of the law of those courts. It is certain, that the abounding of vice and impiety flows in a great measure from the want of that strictness of census, which was the glory of the Christian Church in the primitive times: and it is a public connivance at sin, that there have not been more effectual ways taken for making sinners ashamed, and denying them the privileges of Christians, till they have changed their ill course of life.

The poverty of the Clergy.

There were at this time also remedies under consideration, for the great misery and poverty the Clergy were generally in: but the Laity were so much concerned to oppose all these, that there was no hope of bringing them to any good effect, till the King should come to be of age himself, and en-

BOOK II.

1552.

deavour to recover again a competent maintenance for the Clergy, out of their hands who had devoured their revenues. Both Heath and Day, and the Bishops of Worcester and Chichester, were this year deprived of bishoprics by a court of delegates, that were all laymen: but it does not appear for what offences they were so censured. The bishoprics of Gloucester and Worcester were both united, and put under Hooper's care; but soon after, the former was made an exempted archdeaconry, and he was declared Bishop only of Worcester. In every see, as it fell vacant, the best manors were laid hold on by such hungry courtiers as had the interest to procure the grant of them. It was thought that the Bishops' sees were so out of measure enriched, that they could never be made poor enough: but such haste was made in spoiling them, that they were reduced to so low a condition, that it was hardly possible for a Bishop to subsist in them. If what had been thus taken from them had been converted to good uses, such as the supplying the inferior Clergy, it had been some mitigation of so heinous a robbery: but their lands were snatched up by laymen, who thought of making no compensation to the Church for the spoils thus made by them.

Affairs in Ireland.

This year the Reformation had some more footing in Ireland than formerly. Henry VIII. had assumed to himself, by consent of the Parliament of that kingdom, the title of King of Ireland; the former Kings of England having only been called Lords of it. The Popes and Emperors have pretended, that such titles could be given only by them. The former said, all power in heaven and earth was given to Christ, and by consequence to his Vicar. The latter, as carrying the title of Roman Emperor, pretended, that as they anciently bestowed those titles, so that devolved on them, who retained only the name and shadow of that great authority. But princes and states have thought that they may bring themselves under what titles they please. In Ireland, though the Kings of

1552.

England were well obeyed within the English pale, yet the Irish continued barbarous and uncivilized, and depended on the heads of their names or tribes, and were obedient, or did rebel, as they directed them. In Ulster they had a great dependence on Scotland, and there were some risings there, during the war with Scotland, which were quieted by giving the leading men pensions, and getting them to come and live within the English pale. Monluc, Bishop of Valence, being then in Scotland, went over thither to engage them to raise new commotions; but that had no effect. While he was there, his lasciviousness came to be discovered by an odd accident; for a whore was brought to him by some English friars, and secretly kept by him: but she searching among his clothes, fell on a glass, full of somewhat that was very odoriferous, and drank it off; which being discovered by the Bishop too late, put him in a most violent passion: for it had been given him, as a present, by Soliman the Magnificent, when he was ambassador at his Court. It was called the richest balm of Egypt, and valued at two thousand crowns. His rage grew so boisterous, that all about him discovered both his passion and lewdness at once. The Reformation was set up in the English pale, but had made a small progress among the Irish. This year Bale was sent over to labour among them. He was a busy writer, and was a learned zealous man, but did not write with the temper and decency that became a divine. Goodaker was sent to be Primate of Armagh, and he was to be Bishop of Ossory. Two Irishmen were also promoted with them, who undertook to advance the Reformation there. The Archbishop of Dublin intended to have ordained them by the old pontifical; and all, except Bale, were willing it should be so, but he prevailed that it should be done according to the new Book of Ordinations. After that he went into his diocese, but found all there in dark popery; and before he could make any progress, the King's death put an end to his designs. There was a change settled in the order

A change in the Garter.

BOOK II.

1552.

of the Garter this year. A proposition was made the former year, to consider how the order might be freed from the superstition that was supposed to be in it. St. George's fighting with a dragon looked like a legend forged in dark ages to support the humour of chivalry, then very high in the world. The story was neither credible in itself, nor vouched by any good author: nor was there any of that name mentioned by the ancients but George the Arian Bishop, that was put in Alexandria when Athanasius was banished. Some knights were appointed to prepare a reformation of the order: and the Earl of Westmorland and Sir Andrew Dudley were this year installed according to the new model. It was appointed to be called in all time coming, the order of the Garter, and no more the order of St. George: instead of the former George, there was to be on the one side of the jewel a man on horseback with a Bible on his sword's point: on the sword was written *Protectio*, and on the Bible *Verbum Dei*; and on the reverse a shield, and *Fides* written upon it, to shew that they would maintain the Word of God both with offensive and defensive weapons. But all this was reversed by Queen Mary, and the old statutes were again revived, which continue to this day.

Northumberland's severity.

There was at this time a strict enquiry made into the accounts of all who had been employed in the former part of this reign; for it was believed, that the visitors had embezzled much of the plate of the churches: and these were the creatures of the Duke of Somerset, which made Northumberland prosecute them more vehemently. On none did this fall more severely than on the Lord Paget, who was not only fined in 6000*l*. but was degraded from the order of the Garter, with a particular mark of infamy on his extraction; yet he was afterwards restored to it with as much honour. He had been a constant friend to the Duke of Somerset, and that made his enemies execute so severe a revenge on him. Northumberland was preparing matters for a Parliament, and being a man of an insolent temper, no less abject when he was low,

BOOK II.

1552.

than lifted up with prosperity, he thought extreme severity was the only way to bring the nation easily to comply with his administration of affairs: but this, though it succeeded for some time, yet when he needed it most, it turned violently upon him: for nothing can work on a free people so much as justice and clemency in the government.

Trade flourishes much.

A great design was settled this year, which proved to be the foundation of all that wealth and trade that has since that time flourished so much in this nation. Henry III. had been much supported in his wars by the assistance he got from the free towns of Germany; in recompense of which, he gave them great privileges in England. They were formed here in a corporation, and lived in the still-yard near London-bridge. They had gone sometimes beyond their charters, which were thereupon judged to be forfeited; but by great presents they purchased new ones. They traded in a body, and so ruined others by underselling them; and by making presents at Court, or lending great sums, they had the government on their side. Trade was now rising much, courts began to be more magnificent, so that there was a greater consumption, particularly of cloth, than formerly. Antwerp and Hamburgh, lying the one near the mouth of the Rhine, and the other at the mouth of the Elbe, had then the chief trade in these parts of the world; and their factors in the Still-yard had all the markets in England in their hands; and set such prices, both on what they imported or exported, as they pleased, and broke all other merchants to such a degree, that the former year they had shipped forty-four thousand clothes, and all the other trades had not shipped above eleven hundred. So the merchant adventurers complained of the Still-yard men; and after some hearings, it was adjudged that they had forfeited their charter, and that their company was dissolved: nor could all the applications of the Hanse towns, seconded by the Emperor's intercession, procure them a new charter. But a greater design was proposed after this was settled;

BOOK II.

1552.

which was to open two free mart-towns in England, and to give them such privileges as the free towns in the empire had, and by that means to draw the trade to England. Southampton and Hull were thought the fittest. This was so far entertained by the young King, that he wrote a large paper, balancing the conveniences and inconveniences of it; but all that fell with his life. This year Cardan, the great philosopher of that age, passed through England, as he returned from Scotland. The Archbishop of St. Andrew's had sent for him out of Italy to cure him of a dropsy; in which he had good success; but being much conversant in astrology and magic, he told him he could not change his fate, and that he was to be hanged. He waited on King Edward as he returned, and was so charmed with his great knowledge and rare qualities, that he always spake of him as the rarest person he had ever seen: and after his death, when nothing was to be got by flattering, he wrote the following character of him.

Cardan in England.

" All the graces were in him: he had many " tongues when he was yet but a child: together " with the English, his natural tongue, he had " both Latin and French; nor was he ignorant, as " I hear, of the Greek, Italian, and Spanish, and " perhaps some more: but for the English, French, " and Latin, he was exact in them, and was apt " to learn every thing: nor was he ignorant of lo- " gic, of the principles of natural philosophy, nor " of music. The sweetness of his temper was such " as became a mortal, his gravity becoming the " majesty of a King, and his disposition was suit- " able to his high degree. In sum, that child was " so bred, had such parts, and was of such expecta- " tion, that he looked like a miracle of a man. " These things are not spoken rhetorically, and " beyond the truth, but are indeed short of it." And afterwards he adds, " He was a marvellous " boy: when I was with him, he was in the fifteenth " year of his age, in which he spake Latin as po- " litely and as promptly as I did. He asked me " what was the subject of my book, *De Rerum*

" *Varietate*, which I dedicated to him? I answered, " that in the first chapter I gave the true cause of " comets, which had been long enquired into, but " was never found out before. What is it? said " he. I said, it was the concourse of the light of " wandering stars. He answered, How can that " be, since the stars move in different motions? " How comes it that the comets are not soon dissi- " pated, or do not move after them, according to " their motions? To this I answered, They do " move after them, but much quicker than they, " by reason of the different aspect, as we see in " crystal, or when a rainbow rebounds from a wall: " for a little change makes a great difference of " place. But the King said, How can that be, " where there is no subject to receive that light; " as the wall is the subject for the rainbow? To " this I answered, that this was as in the milky " way, or where many candles were lighted; " the middle place, where their shining met, was " white and clear. From this little taste, it may " be imagined what he was. And indeed the in- " genuity and sweetness of his disposition had " raised in all good and learned men the greatest " expectation of him possible. He began to love " the liberal arts before he knew them, and to " know them before he could use them: and in " him there was such an attempt of nature, that " not only England, but the world hath reason to " lament his being so early snatched away. How " truly was it said of such extraordinary per- " sons, that their lives are short, and seldom do " they come to be old! He gave us an essay of " virtue, though he did not live to give a pattern " of it. When the gravity of a King was need- " ful, he carried himself like an old man; and yet " he was always affable and gentle, as became his " age. He played on the lute; he meddled in " affairs of state: and for bounty, he did in that " emulate his father; though he, even when he " endeavoured to be too good, might appear to " have been bad. But there was no ground of

BOOK II.

1552.

"suspecting any such thing in the son whose "mind was cultivated by the study of philoso- "phy."

These extraordinary blossoms gave but too good reason to fear, that a fruit which ripened so fast could not last long.

Affairs in Scotland.

In Scotland there was a great change in the government: the governor was dealt with to resign it to the Queen Dowager, who returned this year from France, and was treated with all that respect that was due to her rank as she passed through England. She brought letters to the governor, advising him to resign it to her; but in such terms, that he saw he must either do it, or maintain his power by force. He was a soft man, and was the more easily wrought on, because his ambitious brother was then desperately ill: but when he recovered, and found what he had done, he expressed his displeasure at it in very vehement terms. The young Queen of Scotland's uncles proposed a match for her with the Dauphin, which had been long in discourse, and the King of France inclined much to it. Constable Montmorency opposed it: he observed how much Spain suffered in having so many territories at a distance; though those were the best provinces in Europe. So he reckoned the keeping Scotland would cost France more than ever it could be worth: a revolt to England would be easy, and the sending fleets and armies thither would be a vast charge. He therefore advised the King rather to marry her to some of the Princes of the blood, and to send them to Scotland; and so by a small pension, that kingdom would be preserved in the interests of France. But the Constable was a sworn enemy to the house of Guise, and so those wise advices were little considered, and were imputed to the fears he had of so great a strengthening as this would have given to their interest at Court. In Scotland there were now two factions; the one was headed by the Archbishop, and all the Clergy were in it, who were jealous of the Queen as leaning too much to some lords, who were believed to incline to the Reformation; of whom the Prior of St. Andrew's, afterwards the Earl of Mur-

ray, was the chief. These offered to serve the Queen in all her designs; in particular, in sending the matrimonial crown to France, upon their young Queen's marriage with the Dauphin, if she would defend them from the violence of the Clergy in matters of religion, which being made generally subservient to other interests in all courts, this was well entertained by the Queen, though she was otherwise very zealous in her own religion.

BOOK II.

1552.

Affairs in Germany.

There was a great and unexpected turn this year in the affairs of Germany. The Emperor's ministers began to entertain some jealousy of Maurice; so that the Duke of Alva advised the Emperor to call for him, and so to take him off from the head of the army; and then make him give an account of some suspicious passages in his treating with other Princes. But the Bishop of Arras said, he had both his secretaries in pay, and he knew by their means all his negociations; and relied so on their intelligence, that he prevailed with the Emperor not to provoke, by seeming distrustful of him. But Maurice knew all this, and deluded his secretaries, so that he seemed to open to them all his secret negociations; yet he really let them know nothing, but what he was willing should come to the Emperor's ears; and had managed his treaties so secretly, that they had not the least suspicion of them. At last the Emperor was so possessed with the advertisements that were sent him from all parts, that he writ to Maurice to come and clear himself: and then he refined it higher; for he presently left the army, and took post, with one of his secretaries, and a small retinue. After a day's riding, he complained of a pain in his side; so that he could not go on, but sent his secretary with his excuses. This appearance of confidence made the Emperor lay down all his jealousies of him. He had also sent his ambassadors to Trent, and had ordered Melancthon and some divines to follow him slowly; and as soon as safe conduct was obtained, to go to Trent. The Emperor's agents had a hard task, detween the Legates and the Lutherans. They dealt with the Legates to hear the others;

BOOK II.

1552.

but they answered, that it was against the rules of the Church to treat with professed heretics. The Lutherans, on the other hand, made such high demands, that they had as much to do to moderate them. They pressed them not to ask too much at once; and promised, that, if they would proceed prudently, the Emperor would concur with them, to pull down the Pope's power, and to reform abuses. A safe conduct was demanded, such as had been granted by the Council of Basil, that their Divines might have a decisive voice, and the free exercise of their religion, and that all things might be examined according to the Scriptures. But the Legates abhorred the name of that Council, that had acted so much against the Papal authority, and had granted such a conduct, that so they might unite Germany, and engage the empire to join with them against the Pope. The ambassadors from the Lutherans were heard in a general congregation, where they gave the Counsel a very cold compliment, and desired a safe-conduct. The Pope understood that the Emperor was resolved to set on the Spanish Bishops, to bear down the power of the Court of Rome; therefore he united himself to France, and resolved to break the Council on the first occasion: upon which, he ordered the Legates to proceed to settle the doctrine; hoping the Protestants would upon that despair of favour, and go away. But while these things were in agitation, the war of Germany broke out, and the Legates suspended the Council for two years.

An account of the Council of Trent.

After this, I shall have no occasion to speak more of this Council; so I shall offer this remark here, that this Council had been much desired both by Princes and Bishops, in hopes that differences of religion would have been composed in it, and that the corruptions of the Court of Rome would have been reformed by it, and that had made the Popes very apprehensive of it. But such was the cunning of the Legates, the number of Italian Bishops, and the dissensions of the Princes of Europe, that it had effects quite contrary to what all sides expected. The breach in religion was put

BOOK II. 1552.

past reconciling, by the positive decisions they made: the abuses of the Court of Rome were confirmed by the provisos made in favour of the privileges of the Apostolic see: and the world was so cured of their longings for a General Council, that none has been desired since that time. The history of that Council was writ with great exactness and judgment by Father Paul of Venice, while the thing was yet fresh in all men's memories; and though it discovered the whole secret of transactions there, yet none set himself to write against it for forty years after. Of late then, Pallavicini undertook it; and, upon the credit of many memorials, he in many things contradicts Father Paul: but as many of these are likely enough to be forged, so in the main of the history they both agree so far, that it is manifest things were not fairly carried, and, that all matters were managed by intrigues and secret practices; in which it will be very hard to discern such a particular conduct of the Holy Ghost, as should induce the world to submit to their authority. And indeed Pallavicini was aware of this, and therefore he lays down this for a foundation; "That there must be a principality in "the Church, supported by great wealth and dig-"nity; and many practices are now necessary, "that are contrary to what were in the primitive "time, which was the infancy of the Church, and "ought not to be a rule to it now, when it is "grown up to its full state."

The Emperor's designs are blasted.

Maurice declared for the liberty of Germany, and took Augsburgh, and several other towns. The King of France fell also in upon the empire with a great force, and by surprise made himself master of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and thought to have got Strasburgh. Maurice sent his demands to the Emperor for the Landgrave's liberty, and for restoring the freedom of the empire: and the Emperor being slow in making answer, he marched on to Inspruck, where he surprised a post, and was within two miles of him before he was aware of it; so that the Emperor was forced to fly away by torch-light, and from thence went to Italy. Thus

BOOK. II. that very army and prince, that had been chiefly instrumental in the ruin of the empire, did now again assert its freedom; and all the Emperor's
1552. great designs on Germany were now so blasted, that he could never after this put any life in it: he was forced to discharge his prisoners, and to call in the proscriptions. After some treaty, at last the edict of Passaw was made, by which the free exercise of the Protestant religion was granted to the Princes and town. And so did that storm, which had almost overwhelmed the princes of that persuasion, end, without any other considerable effect, besides the translation of the electoral dignity from John to Maurice. The Emperor's misfortunes increased on him; for, against all reason, he besieged Mentz in December; but after he had ruined his army in it, he was forced to raise the siege. Upon that he retired into Flanders in such discontent, that for some time he would admit none to come to him. Here it was believed he first formed that design, which some years after he put in execution, of forsaking the world, and exchanging the pomp of a court with the retirement of a monastery. This strange and unlooked-for turn in his affairs gave a great demonstration of an over-ruling Providence, that governs all human affairs; and of that particular care that God had of the Reformation, in recovering it, when it seemed to be gone, without all hope, in Germany.

1553. In the beginning of this year, there was a regulation made of the Privy Council. Several committees had proper work assigned them, and directions given them for their conduct; of which there is an account extant, corrected with King Edward's hand. A new Parliament was called, and sat down the first of March: a motion was made for a subsidy of two tenths and two fifteenths to be paid in two years. At the passing of the bill, there was a great debate about it in the House of Commons, which seems to have been concerning the preamble; for it contained a high accusation of the Duke of Somerset's administration, and was set on by the Duke of Northumberland's party, to let the

King see how well pleased the representative of the nation was with his fall.

1553. A bill proposed, that laymen should not hold church-dignities.

The sons of the nobility and gentry had ordinarily prebends given them, under this pretence, that they intended to follow their studies, and make themselves capable of entering into orders: and this was like to become a great prejudice to the Clergy, when so many of the dignities of the Church were in lay-hands. Upon this, the Bishops procured a bill to be passed in the House of Lords, that none might hold these that was not either Priest or Deacon: but at the third reading the Commons threw it out.

An act suppressing the bishopric of Durham.

Another bill passed for suppressing the bishopric of Durham, and erecting two new sees, the one at Durham, and the other at Newcastle; the former was to have two thousand, and the latter one thousand marks revenue: there was also a Dean and a Chapter to be endowed at Newcastle. Ridley was designed to be made bishop of Durham. But though the secular jurisdiction of that see was given to the Duke of Northumberland, yet the King's death stopped the further progress of this affair. Tonstall was deprived, as Heath and Day were, by a court of lay-delegates, upon the informations that had been brought against him of misprision of treason, and was kept in the Tower till Queen Mary set him at liberty. The King granted a general pardon, in which the Commons moved the Lords, that some words might be put, though that is not usual to be done; for acts of pardon are commonly passed without any changes made in them. After the passing these acts, the Parliament was dissolved on the last of March. For it seems either the Duke of Northumberland was not pleased with the proceedings in the House of Commons, or he was resolved to call frequent Parliaments, and not continue the same, as the Duke of Somerset had done.

Another visitation.

Visitors were sent after this to examine what plate was in every church, and to leave them one or two chalices of silver, with linen for the communion-table and for surplices; and to bring in all

BOOK II.

1553.

other things of value to the treasurer of the King's household, and to sell the rest, and give it to the poor. This was a new rifling of churches, by which it seemed some resolved not to cease, till they had brought them to a primitive poverty, as well as the Reformers intended to bring them to primitive purity. The King set his hand to these instructions; from which some have inferred, that he was ill principled in himself, when at such an age he joined his authority to such proceedings. But he was now so ill, that it is probable he set his hand to every thing that the Council sent him, without examining anxiously what it might import.

Bishops made by the King's patents.

Skip, Bishop of Hereford, dying, Harley succeeded him, and was the last that was promoted by the King's letters patents; as Barlow was the first, being removed by them from St. David's to Bath and Wells. The form of the patent was, "That "the King appointed such a one to be Bishop dur-"ing his natural life, or as long as he behaved "himself well; and gave him power to ordain or "deprive ministers, to exercise ecclesiastical ju-"risdiction, and perform all the other parts of the "episcopal function, that by the Word of God "were committed to Bishops; and this they were "to do in the King's name, and by his authority." Ferrar was put in St. David's, upon Barlow's removal: he was an indiscreet man, and drew upon himself the dislike of his prebendaries; and many complaints were made of him, which, if true, discovered great weakness in him. At last he was sued in a *præmunire*, for acting in his own name, and not in the King's, in his courts; and was put in prison, where he continued till Morgan, that was his chief accuser, being put in his place by Queen Mary, condemned him to the fire; which turned all former censures, that he had given occasion for by his simplicity, into esteem and compassion. By these patents, the episcopal power was still declared to flow from Christ; they were only presentations to bishoprics, such as other patrons gave to inferior benefices, and such as Christian Princes in France, and other kingdoms, gave in elder times

for bishoprics. Their courts were ordered to be held in the King's name: but all this was repealed by Queen Mary. And when Queen Elizabeth came to the crown, instead of reviving this, she revived that made in the 25th of Henry VIII. by which Bishops were authorized to hold their courts as they had done formerly. And though Queen Mary's repeal of the statute of this King was afterwards taken away, so that this act seemed thereby to be again in force; yet Queen Elizabeth's reviving that made by her father, was understood to be, in effect, a repeal of it. So that in King James's time, when some scruples were started about it, the judges did not think it necessary to make an explanatory act to clear the matter; for the thing did not seem to admit of any debate. A new and fuller catechism was this year composed by Poinet, and was published with the King's approbation.

Affairs in Germany.

The state of affairs beyond sea was now quite turned: so that the progress the French had made, set the English Council on mediating a peace. The Emperor represented to them the danger the Netherlands were in, since the French were masters of Metz, and so could in a great measure divide them from the assistance that they might receive from the empire; therefore he desired that, according to the ancient leagues between England and the house of Burgundy, they would now engage against the French. The Council sent over Ambassadors, both to the Emperor and the French King, to mediate. The Emperor was then indisposed; but his ministers complained much, that the French had broken with them perfidiously, when they were making solemn protestations, that they intended to observe the peace religiously. The Germans proposed a league between the Emperor, the King of the Romans, the King of England, and the Princes of the empire. The Emperor moved, that the Netherlands might be comprehended within the perpetual league of the empire: but the Princes refused that, since those provinces were like to be the perpetual seat of war, whenever it should break out between France and

BOOK II.

1553.

Spain; unless they might have reciprocal advantages for exposing themselves to so much danger and charge. The French made extravagant propositions; by which it appeared that their King had a mind to carry on the war. They asked the restitution of Milan, Sicily, Naples, and Navarre, and the sovereignty of the Netherlands; and that Metz, Toul, and Verdun should continue under the protection of France. The English would not receive these as mediators, but took them only as a paper of news, and so ordered their ambassadors to communicate them to the Emperor. But the King's death broke off this negociation.

The King's sickness.

He had contracted great colds by violent exercises, which in January settled in a deep cough: and all medicines proved ineffectual. There was a suspicion taken up, and spread all over Europe, that he was poisoned; but no certain grounds appeared for justifying that. During his sickness, Ridley preached before him; and, among other things, run out much on works of charity, and the duty of men of high condition, to be eminent in good works. The King was much touched with this; so after sermon he sent for the Bishop, and treated him with such respect, that he made him sit down, and be covered. Then he told him, what impression his exhortation had made on him; and therefore he desired to be directed by him, how to do his duty in that matter. Ridley took a little time to consider of it; and after some consultation with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, brought the King a scheme of several foundations, one for the sick and wounded, another for such as were wilfully idle, or were mad, and a third for orphans. So he endowed St. Bartholomew's hospital for the first, Bridewell for the second, and Christ-Church near Newgate for the third; and he enlarged the grant he made the former year for St. Thomas's hospital in Southwark. The statutes and warrants relating to these were not finished before the 26th of June, though he gave order to make all the haste that was possible; and when he set his hand to them, he blessed God that had prolonged his

life till he finished his designs concerning them. These houses have, by the good government and great charities of the city of London, continued to be so useful, and grown to be so well endowed, that now they may well be reckoned among the noblest in Europe.

BOOK II.

1553.

The patents for the succession to the crown.

The King bore his sickness with great submission to the will of God; and seemed concerned in nothing so much, as the state that Religion and the Church would be in after his death. The Duke of Suffolk had only three daughters; the eldest of these was now married to the Lord Guilford Dudley; the second to the Earl of Pembroke's eldest son; and the third, that was crooked, to one Keys. The Duke of Northumberland, for strengthening his family, married also his own two daughters, the one to Sir Henry Sidney, and the other to the Earl of Huntington's eldest son. He grew to be much hated by the people; and the jealousy of the King's being poisoned was fastened on him. But he regarded these things little, and resolved to improve the fears the King was in concerning religion, to the advantage of the Lady Jane. The King was easily persuaded to order the Judges, and his learned Council, to put some articles, which he had signed for the succession of the crown, in the common form of law. They answered, that the succession being settled by act of Parliament, could not be taken away, except by Parliament: yet the King required them to do what he commanded them. But the next time they came to the Council, they declared, that it was made treason to change the succession, by an act passed in this reign; so they could not meddle with it. Montague was Chief Justice, and spake in the name of the rest. Northumberland fell in a great passion against him, calling him traitor, for refusing to obey the King's commands; for that is always the language of an arbitrary minister, when he acts against law. But the Judges were not shaken by his threatenings; so they were again brought before the King, who sharply rebuked them for their delays: but they said, all that they could do would be of no force

BOOK II.

1553.

without Parliament; yet they were required to do it in the best manner they could. At last, Mountague desired they might have a pardon for what they were to do; and that being granted, all the Judges, except Gosnald and Hales, agreed to the patent, and delivered their opinions, that the Lord Chancellor might put the seal to it, and that then it would be good in law: yet the former of these two was at last wrought on; so Hales was the only man that stood out to the last: who, though he was a zealous Protestant, yet would not give his opinion in this matter against his conscience, upon any consideration whatsoever. The Privy Counsellors were next required to set their hands to it. Cecil, in a relation he writ of this transaction, says, that hearing some of the Judges declare so positively that it was against law, he refused to set his hand to it, as a Privy Counsellor; but signed it only as a witness to the King's subscription. Cranmer stood out long; he came not to Council when it passed there; and refused to consent to it, when he was pressed to it; for he said, he would never have a hand in disinheriting his late master's daughters. The young dying King was at last set on him, and by his importunity prevailed with him to do it, and so the seal was put to the patents. The King's distemper continued to increase, so that the physicians despaired of his recovery. A confident woman undertook his cure, and he was put in her hands; but she left him worse than she found him; and this heightened the jealousy of the Duke of Northumberland, that had introduced her, and put the physicians away. At last, to crown his designs, he got the King to write to his sisters, to come and divert him in his sickness: and the matter of the exclusion had been carried so secretly, that they, apprehending no danger, had begun their journey.

The King's death and character.

On the 6th of July, the King felt death approaching, and prepared himself for it in a most devout manner. He was often heard offering up prayers and ejaculations to God: particularly a few moments before he died, he prayed earnestly that

God would take him out of this wretched life, and committed his spirit to him: he interceded very fervently for his subjects, that God would preserve England from Popery, and maintain his true religion among them. Soon after that, he breathed out his innocent soul, being in Sir Henry Sidney's arms. Endeavours were used to conceal his death for some days, on design to draw his sisters into the snare, before they should be aware of it; but that could not be done.

Thus died Edward VI. in the sixteenth year of his age. He was counted the wonder of that time: he was not only learned in the tongues and the liberal sciences, but knew well the state of his kingdom. He kept a table-book, in which he had writ the characters of all the eminent men of the nation. He studied fortification, and understood the mint well. He knew the harbours in all his dominions, with the depth of water, and way of coming into them. He understood foreign affairs so well, that the ambassadors that were sent into England published very extraordinary things of him in all the courts of Europe. He had great quickness of apprehension; but being distrustful of his memory, he took notes of every thing he heard that was considerable, in Greek characters; that those about him might not understand what he writ, which he afterwards copied out fair in the journal that he kept.

His virtues were wonderful: when he was made believe that his uncle was guilty of conspiring the death of the other counsellors, he upon that abandoned him. Barnaby Fitzpatrick was his favourite; and when he sent him to travel, he writ oft to him to keep good company, to avoid excess and luxury, and to improve himself in those things that might render him capable of employment at his return. He was afterwards made Lord of Upper Ossory in Ireland by Queen Elizabeth, and did answer the hopes that this excellent King had of him. He was very merciful in his nature, which appeared in his unwillingness to sign the warrant for burning the Maid of Kent. He took great care to have his debts well paid, reckoning that

BOOK II.

1553

a Prince who breaks his faith, and loses his credi has thrown up that which he can never recove and made himself liable to perpetual distrust, a extreme contempt. He took special care of th petitions that were given him by the poor and op pressed people. But his great zeal for religio crowned all the rest. It was not an a y hea about it that acted him: but it was a true tende ness of conscience, founded on the love of Go and his neighbours.

These extraordinary qualities, set off with gre sweetness and affability, made him universally be loved by all his people. Some called him their Jo sias, others Edward the Saint, and others calle him the Phœnix that riseth out of his mother ashes; and all people concluded, that the sins England must have been very great, since the provoked God to deprive the nation of so signal blessing, as the rest of his reign would have, b all appearance, proved. Ridley, and the othe good men of that time, made great lamentations the vices that were grown then so common, th men had passed all shame in them. Luxury, op pression, and a hatred of religion, had over-ru the higher rank of people, who gave a countenanc to the reformation merely to rob the Church; bu by that, and their other practices, were become great scandal to so good a work. The inferior so were so much in the power of the Priests, wh were still, notwithstanding their outward com pliance, Papists in heart; and were so much o fended at the spoil they saw made of the good en dowments, without putting other and more usefu ones in their room; that they who understood littl of religion laboured under great prejudices agains every thing that was advanced by such tools. An these things, as they provoked God highly, so the disposed the people much to that sad catastrophe which is to be the subject of the next book.

END OF VOL. I.

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